

THE CODICOLOGY OF ISLAMIC MANUSCRIPTS

PROCEEDINGS OF
THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF
AL-FURQĀN ISLAMIC HERITAGE FOUNDATION
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FOREWORD

Since its establishment in 1989, Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation has been involved in activities to encourage research and study into the field of Islamic manuscripts, including surveying Islamic manuscripts throughout the world, handlisting, cataloguing and the publication of significant Islamic manuscripts. In addition the Foundation holds a bi-annual conference on a topic related to Islamic manuscripts. The first conference which coincided with the inauguration of the Foundation in 1991 highlighted the significance of Islamic manuscripts in a general sense (see *The Significance of Islamic Manuscripts, Proceedings of the Inaugural Conference of Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1991*, ed. J. Cooper, London, 1992 & *Ahammiyyat al-Makhtūtāt, A'māl al-mu'tamar al-iftitāhī li-mu'assasat al-Furqān lil turāth al-islāmī*, London, 1992).

The second conference was technical and concentrated on the science of manuscript production in the Islamic world. At this conference the technical aspect of the science of manuscript production known as "codicology" was dealt with by distinguished scholars at the conference held on 4-5 December 1993. This volume contains a selection of the papers from this conference.

Since this second conference, Al-Furqān Foundation has organised three training courses for cataloguers of Islamic manuscripts, in Cairo (January 1994), Istanbul (September 1994), and London (June 1995). The notes from the lectures given at these courses by prominent scholars will eventually be published as a handbook for the cataloguing of Islamic manuscripts.

We hope that the present volume and the handbook for cataloguing will offer a major contribution to the promotion of Islamic studies in general and Islamic manuscripts in particular.

No doubt these humble steps which have been taken by Al-Furqān Foundation would have not led to any success had we not enjoyed the Almighty God's grace and support in the first place.

Ahmed Zaki Yamani

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PREFACE

The articles presented here constitute a selection of the many scholarly papers delivered at the conference. The final choice of contents has attempted to portray the wide-ranging nature of the material presented while remaining true to the specific theme of the conference, namely codicology and the study of manuscripts primarily *qua* manuscripts.

The material divides naturally into two sections. The first covers the purely physical aspect of Islamic manuscripts, including the materials from which they are made, how these materials are put together in manuscript form, and how the ink is made that is used for writing on them. The second section concerns the more human aspect of the transmission of manuscripts and how this aspect makes itself evident in the material form of the manuscripts.

Thus the first three papers deal predominantly with different physical aspects of the manuscript. The paper by Geoffrey Khan (Lecturer in Hebrew and Aramaic, Cambridge University) gives us a masterly summary of our current knowledge on what is probably the oldest form of Islamic manuscript, namely the papyri written in Arabic which date from as early as the 1st/7th century. After papyrus comes parchment: the paper by François Déroche (Director of Studies, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris) on parchment as a material for manuscripts — particularly the Qurʾān — goes into great detail in explaining the hitherto little understood intricacies of parchment manuscript production in the first few centuries of Islamic culture. The paper by Ibrahim Chabbouh (General Secretary, al-Majmaʾ al-Malakī al-Urdunī, Amman) looks at another highly technical aspect of manuscript production: the techniques of making the ink that is used to write the text.

The paper by ʾIraj Afshār (former Director, Tehran University Library) is in a sense a bridge between the two aspects mentioned above. His paper explores the references to paper in classical Persian literature and thus allows us to build up a picture of the history of paper, its different types, and the different methods used to manufacture it, as seen by the writers who actually used it.

The last four papers, i.e. those of the second section, take us away from the more technical aspects of manuscript production into the realm of the interaction between manuscript and author, or manuscript and reader, or even manuscript and society. The paper by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (Executive Director, Dār al-Kutub, Cairo) suggests something of what can be learned about an individual author's actual method of composition by studying earlier and later drafts of a text written by him, in this case the *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ* of al-Maqrīzī. The paper by Mohamed Bencherifa (Curator, Bibliothèque Générale, Rabat) addresses another problem commonly facing those dealing with manuscripts, namely how to identify the author of a text when key portions of it — particularly the title page(s) and/or the colophon — have been lost or damaged. The paper by Jan Just Witkam (Curator of Oriental Manuscripts, Leiden University Library) suggests how a detailed study of *ijāzas* in manuscripts — that is, testimonials to the right to transmit or teach a certain text that are often added to the manuscript itself — can help to build up a picture of the social and educational environment in which these manuscripts were produced. This theme of the interaction between manuscript and human environment is further developed in the paper by Léon Buskens (Lecturer in Islamic Law, Leiden University) on the changes in manuscript culture in Morocco which shows, as he himself points out, that "the study of books and manuscripts leads us inevitably to the study of the men and women who wrote, read and used those books and manuscripts."

These, then, are the papers that have been chosen as representative of the Second Conference of Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation. We trust that they will not only stand as important contributions in themselves to the still nascent discipline of Islamic codicology, but also provide impetus and direction for future studies in the field.

Yasin Dutton
Oxford
May, 1995

ARABIC PAPYRI

GEOFFREY KHAN

For 4,000 years the main type of writing material used in Egypt was papyrus. This was usually referred to in Arabic as *qirtās*, which was derived from the Greek *khartēs* via the Aramaic *qartīs*.¹ Papyrus was manufactured from the plant *Cyperus papyrus* L., which is native to Egypt. It was easier to handle than the available alternatives, such as wood, skins and clay tablets, and could be made in a range of thicknesses and qualities. These factors no doubt contributed to its success.² It is deceptive to judge the physical nature of papyrus by the brittle remains that have been preserved down to modern times. When manufactured, papyrus was light coloured, smooth, strong and flexible.³

Papyrus was in use as early as 3,000 BC and played a crucial role in the development of ancient Egyptian civilisation; indeed the papyrus plant became the symbol of Lower Egypt as far back as the predynastic period, in the 4th millennium BC.⁴ From at least the 1st millennium BC, papyrus had a rival in parchment, which was an excellent writing material. Papyrus, however, was easier to manufacture than parchment.⁵ Although parchment was widely used in other parts of the Classical world, papyrus retained its importance in Egypt throughout the Greek and Roman periods.⁶ The use of papyrus was taken over by the Arabs when they conquered Egypt in the 7th century AD, and it continued as

¹ S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886), 245. As a writing material papyrus was occasionally referred to as *waraq al-bardī* or *waraq al-qasabī*; cf. R. Sellheim, s.v. "Qirtās", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed (Leiden and London, 1960-), V, 173.

² A. Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo, 1952), 1.

³ N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1974), 57-61.

⁴ *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ed. I. A. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd and N. G. L. Hammond, 3rd ed, 1/2 (Cambridge, 1971), 7.

⁵ C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (Oxford, 1987), 10.

⁶ Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*.

the main writing material of the country until the 10th century AD. By this time it could no longer compete with paper, which was cheaper to produce.

Unlike papyrus, the manufacture of paper was not dependent on raw material that was, for the most part, exclusive to Egypt. Paper was first manufactured in the Islamic world in Samarqand, having been introduced there from China in the 2nd/8th century, and came into general use in the Eastern Islamic lands earlier than in the Western lands. In the reign of the caliph Harūn al-Rashīd (170/786–193/809) paper began to be used in government offices.⁷ Writing in the 9th century AD, al-Jāhīz tells us that “the papyri of Egypt are for the West what the papers of Samarqand are for the East (*qarātīs Miṣr li-l-maghrib ka-kawāghid Samarqand li-l-mashriq*)”.⁸ Paper was used sporadically in Egypt in the 9th century but did not constitute a rival to papyrus until the 10th century. By the middle of the 10th century paper had supplanted papyrus in Egypt and the manufacture of papyrus had almost completely ceased.⁹ Ibn Hawqal, who visited Egypt in 359/969, mentions the papyrus plant but makes no reference to the use of papyrus in Egypt as a writing material.¹⁰ Writing in 375/985–6, al-Maqdisī mentions paper as one of the products of Egypt but does not refer to the manufacture of papyrus.¹¹ From al-Mas‘ūdī writing in 956 AD, however, we learn that papyrus manufacture was not completely defunct in Egypt in the 10th century,¹² and it also appears that papyrus still had some marginal

⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* (Būlāq, 1284 [1867]), I, 352; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiz wa-l-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khitāt wa-l-āthār* (Būlāq, 1270 [1853]), I, 91; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (Būlāq, 1903), I, 578; *ibid.* (Cairo, 1331–8/1913–18), II, 475.

⁸ al-Thaʿalibī, *Lataʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leiden, 1867), 97; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-muḥādara* (Būlāq, 1299 [1882]), II, 238. It is worth noting, however, that a document in the Khalili collection from northern Mesopotamia which is datable to c. 240/854–5 is written on papyrus (see G. Khan, *Arabic Papyri. Selected Material from the Khalili Collection*, Studies in the Khalili Collection, I [London and Oxford, 1992], no. 6).

⁹ J. von Karabacek, “Das arabische Papier. Eine historisch-antiquarische Untersuchung”, *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, II–III (Vienna, 1887), 98; *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung*, ed. Karabacek et al. (Vienna, 1894), 245.

¹⁰ Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1873), 86.

¹¹ al-Maqdisī (or al-Muqaddasī), *Kitāb Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1877), 32ff., 193ff., 202ff.

¹² al-Mas‘ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih wa-l-ishraf*, Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, VIII (Paris, 1810), 146.

uses at this period, such as for amulets,¹³ or for medical treatment,¹⁴ although it was not the common writing material.

Further west in the Maghreb the transition to paper was even later. In this region parchment was the predominant writing material until the 11th century AD.¹⁵

We learn from Ibn Hawqal that in the second half of the 10th century papyrus was still used by the Arabs in Sicily for chancery correspondence,¹⁶ and some papyri found in Egypt were originally written elsewhere.¹⁷

During the long period of Egyptian history when papyrus was in use, the languages current in the country changed so that the surviving materials fall into the sphere of specialists in ancient Egyptian, Greek, Coptic and Arabic. By the time of the Arab conquest Egyptian had long been replaced by Greek and Coptic, which were soon replaced by Arabic in most contexts. Coptic continued to be used by the Egyptian Christians of the Monophysite rite, but Greek had fallen out of use by the 8th century AD; one vestige of its former importance was the use of Greek numerals in early accounts in Arabic.

Extant Arabic papyri

Grohmann estimated that there were approximately 16,000 Arabic papyri in the various collections that he was familiar with in Europe, North America and Cairo.¹⁸ This figure apparently refers only to moderately well-preserved documents. The total number of extant papyrus fragments containing Arabic writing is far higher.¹⁹ The vast majority are documents of some sort, while the minority contain literary texts. The first category includes accounts, legal deeds, administrative documents drawn up by government officials, and private letters. Some of the letters offer

¹³ Karabacek, “Das arabische Papier”, 100–1.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Jāmiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiyā wa-l-aghḍhiyā* (Būlāq, 1291 [1875]), I, 86–7.

¹⁵ S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), 112.

¹⁶ Ibn Hawqal, *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, 86.

¹⁷ e.g. Khan, *Arabic Papyri*, no. 6, an account which was drawn up in a Nestorian monastery in Mesopotamia c. 240/854–5.

¹⁸ Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri*, 2.

¹⁹ See S. A. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic, Based upon Papyri Datable to Before 300 AH/912 AD* (Oxford, 1984), xli, n. 3.

intimate glimpses of everyday life in early Islamic Egypt. Others were written by merchants as part of their commercial activities and tell us a great deal about trade in the early Islamic period. As well as providing evidence for social and economic history, many of these documents supply material for other areas of study: hundreds of place names mentioned in the papyri add considerably to our knowledge of the topography of Egypt at this period, and papyrus letters and legal deeds furnish abundant primary source material for the study of Arabic diplomatics. In addition, both the literary and the documentary papyri are important sources for the study of the Arabic script and of the development of the Arabic language.

The literary papyri include the earliest known fragments of many works in Arabic, such as the biography of the Prophet Muhammad by Ibn Hishām, the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* of Mālik b. Anas, the tales of the *Arabian Nights* and Arabic poetry.²⁰ They also include parts of other works that were previously thought to have been lost, such as the compilation of traditions about the Prophet Muhammad and King David attributed to Wabb b. Munabbih and the collections of legal precedents of ʿAbd Allāh b. Wabb and ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa.²¹

Many medieval European papyri have been preserved in church and papal archives,²² but no archives containing such material in Arabic have survived. As a result, the only Arabic papyri that are now extant have been recovered from the ground, either as the result of chance finds or of official archaeological excavations. Many of them have been found in rubbish heaps on the edges of towns, where the residents have been discarding all sorts of waste, including papyri for which they no longer had any use, since antiquity. Other papyri were found in the ruins of

ancient buildings, often preserved in sealed jars.²³ It was in a jar of this type that Egyptian peasants discovered two Arabic papyri at Saqqārah in 1824; the discipline of Arabic papyrology was founded by the publication of these documents by the French scholar Silvestre de Sacy in 1825 and 1831.²⁴

In the second half of the 19th century large numbers of Arabic papyri were found at various sites in the Fayyūm, as well as at sites lying further south, including al-Bahnāsā (Oxyrhynchus), al-Ushmūnayn (Hermopolis Magna), Kom Eshqaw (Aphrodito), Ikhmīm (Panopolis), al-Gabalayn (Pathyris), Edfū (Apollinopolis), Dandara and Aswan. Lower Egypt has proved far less productive, no doubt because the soil conditions are less conducive to the preservation of organic material. Nevertheless, several thousand pieces have been found in the ruins of Fustāt.²⁵

Most of the major collections of Arabic papyri consist of material originating from the sites in Upper Egypt. This applies to the collections in the National Library in Cairo, the Oriental Institute in Chicago, the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, the Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek in Hamburg, the Institut für Papyrologie at Heidelberg University, the Louvre and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the British Library in London, the John Rylands University Library in Manchester, the Bodleian Library and Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, the former collection of the Archduke Rainer in Vienna, and the Wessely Collection in Prague.²⁶ Only a few collections contain material that originated predominantly from Fustāt. These include the collections of Arabic papyri in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo,²⁷ the collection formerly in the possession of G. Michaelides of Cairo and now in Cambridge University Library, and the Khalili collection in London.

²⁰ For these and other works, see N. Abbott, "A Ninth-century Fragment of the Thousand Nights. New Light on the Early History of the Arabian Nights", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, VIII (1949), 129-64; idem, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, I-III (Chicago, 1957-72).

²¹ See R. G. Khoury, *Wabb ibn Munabbih* (Wiesbaden, 1972); J. David-Weill, *Le Djāmi' d'Ibn Wabb* (Cairo, 1939-48); R. G. Khoury, *ʿAbdallāh ibn Lahīʿa (97-174/115-790). Juge et grand maître de l'école égyptienne* (Wiesbaden, 1986).

²² H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* (Leipzig, 1931), 479-92. Many of the papyrus documents in the European archives have been reproduced in a series published by A. Bruckner and R. Marichal, *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile Edition of the Latin Charters Prior to the Ninth Century* (Olten and Lausanne, 1954-).

²³ Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri*, 8.

²⁴ A. Silvestre de Sacy, "Mémoire sur quelques papyrus écrits en arabe et récemment découverts en Egypte", *Journal des Savants* (1825), 462-73; idem, "Mémoire sur quelques papyrus écrits en arabe et récemment trouvés en Egypte", *Histoire et Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-lettres*, IX (1931), Mémoires, 66-85. The papyri are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (MSS arabes 4633-4).

²⁵ For more details of these discoveries, see Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri*, 11, 214-7; idem, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyrskunde*, I, Einführung (Prague, 1954), 7-35.

²⁶ Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie*, 36-62.

²⁷ ibid., 27.

Published papyri

Publication of the important pieces in the collections from Upper Egyptian sites began at the end of the last century. Two Arabic papyri, one of which is now in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (P. Berol. 8505) and the other in the Universitätsbibliothek in Leipzig, were published in 1880 by Loth, while they were still in the possession of the author.²⁸ These were the first Arabic papyrus documents to be made available since the appearance of the documents from Saqqāra published by Silvestre de Sacy in the first half of the century and subsequently republished on a number of occasions.²⁹ It should be noted, however, that a few Arabic protocol texts on papyrus (for which see below) were published before the appearance of Loth's article, e.g. an Arabic protocol at the beginning of a scroll containing a bull of Pope John VIII of 876 AD in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,³⁰ and three Arabic protocols at the beginning of Coptic documents from the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.³¹

The nascent discipline of Arabic papyrology was given a sound foundation by a series of masterly studies of selected papyri and paper documents from the Erzherzog Rainer collection by Karabacek.³² He also made short descriptions of 366 Arabic

²⁸ O. Loth, "Zwei arabische Papyrus", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXXIV (1880), 685-91.

²⁹ The Saqqāra documents were republished in the following places: J. B. Silvestre, *Paléographie universelle*, I, Peuples orientaux (Paris, 1839), 190-2, pl. 1; idem, *Universal Palaeography* (tr. into English with corrections and notes by F. Madden, London, 1850), 84ff, pl. xxix; W. Wright (ed), *The Palaeographical Society. Facsimiles. Manuscripts and Inscriptions (Oriental Series)* (London, 1875-83), pl. 5.

³⁰ M. Champollion-Figeac, *Chartes latines sur papyrus, du VI^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne, appartenant à la Bibliothèque Royale* (Paris, 1835), pl. 1.

³¹ F. Lenormant, *Essai sur la propagation de l'alphabet phénicien dans l'ancien monde* (Paris, 1872), pls. 19-21; E. Revillout, *Mélanges d'épigraphie et de linguistique égyptienne, Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne et Assyrienne*, II (Paris, 1875), pl. 1ff, 194; idem, *Actes et contracts des Musées égyptiens de Boulaq et du Louvre*, I, *Études Égyptologiques*, V (Paris, 1876), 1, 90, 94.

³² J. von Karabacek: "Der Papyrusfund von El-Fajjūm", *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften: philosophisch-historische Classe* [Vienna], XXXIII (1883), Erste Abtheilung, 207-42; "Eine merkwürdige arabische Namensunterschrift", *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, I (Vienna, 1886), 126; "Das arabische Papier" [see n. 9 above], 87-178; "Neue Quellen zur Papiergeschichte", *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog*

papyri from the Vienna collection in the exhibition catalogue *Führer durch die Ausstellung* (PERF 550-916).³³ Grohmann published the Arabic and bilingual (Arabic-Greek) papyrus protocol texts from the Erzherzog Rainer collection³⁴ and had planned to publish a subsequent volume of administrative documents, but due to the economic depression in Austria the volume could not be printed. Many of these documents were eventually published in a series of articles.³⁵ Grohmann, whose manifold publications dominate the field of Arabic papyrology, also edited corpora of documents from other collections, the largest of which include his editions of papyri from the Egyptian Library,³⁶ the Staatlichen Museen in Berlin,³⁷ and the Wessely collection in Prague.³⁸ In each case he culled from the collection miscellaneous documents that were suitable for publication. (A

Rainer, IV (Vienna, 1888), 75-122; "Die Involutio im arabischen Schriftwesen", *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften: philosophisch-historische Classe* [Vienna], CXXXV, (1896), Abhandlung no. 5, 1-26.

³³ *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung*, ed. Karabacek et al. (Vienna, 1894), 137-243. Karabacek had prepared a full edition of 350 documents which was to appear as a volume in the series *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri* but this work was never completed (see Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie*, 57).

³⁴ A. Grohmann, *Protokolle, Corpus Papyrorum Raineri Archiducis Austriae*, III, Series Arabica, I/2 (Vienna, 1924).

³⁵ Grohmann: "Aperçu de papyrologie arabe", *Études de Papyrologie*, I (1932), 23-95; "Ein Qorra-Brief vom Jahre 90 d.H.", *Aus fünf Jahrtausenden morgenländischer Kultur. Festschrift Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1933), 37-40; "Eine arabischer Grundsteuerquittung vom Jahre 297 d.H. (909/10 n. Chr.) aus dem Amtsbereich eines 'Abbasidenprinzen'", *Mémoires publiées par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, LXVIII (1935-40) (*Mélanges Maspéro*, III), 9-13; "Texte zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Ägyptens in arabischer Zeit", *Archiv Orientalní*, VII (1935), 437-72; "Ein arabischer Steuerpapyrus aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*, XXXVII (1938), 52-3; "Einige bemerkenswerte Urkunden aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer an der Nationalbibliothek zu Wien", *Archiv Orientalní*, XVII/3 (1950), 80-119.

³⁶ Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library* (6 vols, Cairo, 1935-62).

³⁷ Grohmann, "Arabische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin", *Der Islam*, XXII (1935), 1-68.

³⁸ Grohmann, "Arabische Papyri aus der Sammlung Carl Wessely im orientalischen Institut (Orientalní Ústav) zu Prag", *Archiv Orientalní* X (1938), 149-62 (nos 1-8); XI (1939), 242-89 (nos 9-28); XII (1941), 1-112 (nos 29-49); XIV (1943) 161-260 (nos 50-96).

small corpus of the papyri from Berlin had been published earlier by Abel.³⁹ Other monograph publications of miscellaneous documents from a single collection include those of Dietrich (Hamburg),⁴⁰ Margoliouth (Manchester)⁴¹ and Khan (London),⁴² while Dietrich and, more recently, Diem have published volumes devoted to Arabic papyrus letters from the collections of Hamburg⁴³ and Heidelberg⁴⁴ respectively.

In 1901 a cache of papyrus letters written by Qurra b. Sharik, the Umayyad governor of Egypt from 90-96/709-714, was discovered in the Upper Egyptian village of Kom Eshqaw, 7 km south-west of Timā, formerly known as Aphrodito in the Greek sources. Some of these letters are written in Arabic, some in Greek, and some are bilingual (Arabic and Greek). They subsequently found their way into various papyrus collections. The Arabic and bilingual letters in the Heidelberg collection were published by Becker, who also brought together Arabic letters of Qurra b. Sharik from several different collections.⁴⁵ Abbott edited the Arabic letters of this governor in the Oriental Institute of Chicago.⁴⁶ Those in the Egyptian Library were included in Grohmann's publication of papyri from that collection.⁴⁷ A fragment of a letter from Qurra in St Petersburg was published by

³⁹ L. Abel (ed.), *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin. Arabische Urkunden* (2 parts, Berlin, 1896-1900).

⁴⁰ A. Dietrich, *Arabische Papyri aus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XXII/3 (Leipzig, 1937).

⁴¹ D. S. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of Arabic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester (Manchester, 1933).

⁴² G. Khan, *Arabic Papyri* (see n. 8 above); idem, *Bills, Letters and Deeds. Arabic Papyri of the 7th to 11th Centuries*, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, VI (London and Oxford, 1993).

⁴³ A. Dietrich, *Arabische Briefe aus der Papyrussammlung der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek*, Veröffentlichungen aus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, V (Hamburg, 1955).

⁴⁴ W. Diem, *Arabische Briefe auf Papyrus und Papier aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, III/1 (Heidelberg, 1991).

⁴⁵ C. H. Becker: *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, I, Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, III/1 (Heidelberg, 1906); "Arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*, XX (1907), 68-104; "Neue arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes", *Der Islam*, II (1911), 245-68.

⁴⁶ N. Abbott, *The Kurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute* (Chicago, 1938).

⁴⁷ Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, 146-163.

Jernstedt.⁴⁸ More recently Rāghib has published Qurra letters that have been discovered in the Sorbonne.⁴⁹ These letters of Qurra b. Sharik cast a great deal of light on the otherwise poorly documented Umayyad administration of Egypt.

Becker's works on the Qurra papyri⁵⁰ were the first publications to gather together papyri of the same type from various collections. The same approach was taken by Grohmann in his volume on protocol texts⁵¹ which, in addition to the material in the Rainer collection, also contains all the Arabic and bilingual protocols in other collections that were known to the author at the time of writing. Jahn made a study of formulae in Arabic letters and published a short corpus of Arabic papyrus letters from the collections in Vienna and Heidelberg.⁵² Rāghib has gathered together from various papyrus collections letters and documents from the archives of a family of merchants.⁵³ Most recently a chrestomathy of Arabic papyri, based on material compiled by Grohmann and containing samples of many types of documents from various collections, has been published by Khoury.⁵⁴ Furthermore, all known papyri written in Judaeo-Arabic (i.e. Arabic in Hebrew script) have been assembled from various collections and published together by Blau and Hopkins.⁵⁵

The analysis of the Arabic papyrus documents in most of the aforementioned publications concentrates on details of their socio-economic setting, the background of personal names, the

⁴⁸ P. Jernstedt, "Die Kome-Aphrodito Papyri der Sammlung Lichačov", in G. Zereteli, (ed.), *Papyri Russischer und Georgischer Sammlungen*, IV (Tiflis, 1927), 92-3.

⁴⁹ Y. Rāghib, "Lettres nouvelles de Qurra b. Sharik", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XL (1981), 173-87.

⁵⁰ Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*.

⁵¹ Grohmann, *Protokolle*.

⁵² K. Jahn, "Vom frühislamischen Briefwesen. Studien zur islamischen Epistolographie der ersten drei Jahrhunderte der Hīra auf Grund der arabischen Papyri", *Archiv Orientalní*, IX (1937), 153-200.

⁵³ Y. Rāghib, *Marchands d'étoffe du Fayoum au III^e/IX^e siècle, d'après leurs archives (actes et lettres)*, I-II, Suppléments aux Annales Islamologiques, II, V (Cairo, 1982-5).

⁵⁴ R. G. Khoury, *Chrestomathie de papyrologie arabe, préparée par Adolf Grohmann; retravaillée et élargie par Raif Georges Khoury* (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1993).

⁵⁵ J. Blau and S. Hopkins, "Judaeo-Arabic Papyri - Collected, Edited, Translated and Analysed", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, IX (1987), 87-160.

identification of place names and comparisons with other extant documents with regard to certain words and phrases. The grammar of Arabic papyrus has now been systematically examined by Hopkins,⁵⁶ while Diem, in his recent volume of Arabic letters from Heidelberg, has contributed both to the study of the grammar and the formulaic phraseology employed.⁵⁷

Several Arabic papyri have been discovered at sites outside Egypt: two Arabic papyri from Damascus are now in the Oriental Institute, Chicago;⁵⁸ a small number were unearthed at Sāmarrā' by the German excavations of 1911;⁵⁹ thirteen Arabic papyri from the period 52/672-70/689 were discovered at 'Awjā' al-Hafīr (Nessana), near Be'ersheva, by the H. Dunscombe Colt expedition of 1936-7;⁶⁰ and a large number of papyri, most of which date from the first two centuries AH and nearly all of which are in a very fragmentary condition, were discovered in Khirbat al-Mird in the Judean desert in the 1950s.⁶¹

The papyrus roll and its manufacture

Evidence concerning the cultivation of papyrus in antiquity comes from the accounts of Classical authors, who recorded that the plant was grown in plantations, many of which were located in the swampy areas of the Delta.⁶² Moreover, two extant Greek papyri from the early Roman period — one of 13-14 BC and the

other of 5 BC — contain leases of papyrus plantations.⁶³ It is presumed that this type of cultivation in plantations was continued during the first few centuries after the Arab conquest of Egypt in 640 AD, although we have no direct evidence for this. We also know from Classical sources that papyrus grew in Mesopotamia, along the Euphrates,⁶⁴ and this was apparently still the case in the early Arab period. Papyrus plants were also cultivated in Sicily well into the Middle Ages, but according to Ibn Hawqal most of the papyrus grown there was used to make cordage for ships, and the small amount of writing material that was produced was for the exclusive use of the sultan.⁶⁵

Arabic sources, such as Abū Šālīh and al-Ya'qūbī, mention numerous papyrus mills that were active in Egypt in the early Islamic period,⁶⁶ as well as one in Sāmarrā' which was established by the caliph al-Mu'tašim in 221/836.⁶⁷ Egyptian papyrus mills were also mentioned in the Arabic protocols placed at the beginning of papyrus rolls.⁶⁸

A systematic description of the manufacture of papyrus in Classical antiquity was given by Pliny the Elder,⁶⁹ who reported that the strips were laid on boards moistened with water from the Nile, whose mud content served as a binder.⁷⁰ Modern analysis of ancient papyri has revealed that the strips were held together by the natural gummy substance contained in the cell sap of the papyrus pith and released when the plant cells were crushed, and the Nile water appears to have had no agglutinative function at all.⁷¹ The papyrus was dried and then rubbed smooth with a piece of ivory or a shell, and, as the final stage in the process, a

⁵⁶ Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic* [see n. 19 above].

⁵⁷ Diem, *Arabische Briefe*.

⁵⁸ N. Abbot, "Arabic Papyri of the Reign of Ga'far al-Mutawakkil 'alā-allāh (AH 232-47/AD 847-61)", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XCII (1938), 88-135.

⁵⁹ E. Herzfeld, *Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Samarra* (Berlin, 1912), pl. xxxvi b.

⁶⁰ C. J. Kraemer, "The Colt Papyrus from Palestine", *Actes du 2^e congrès international de papyrologie* (Brussels, 1938), 238-44; idem, *Excavations at Nessana*, III (Princeton, 1958).

⁶¹ A selection was published by Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri from Khirbat el-Mird* (Louvain, 1963). For the literary papyri, see the publications of Abbott and Khoury referred to above (nn. 20 and 21).

⁶² e.g. Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, ed. F. Wimmer (Leipzig, 1854), IV. xviii. 3; Strabo, *Geographica*, ed. G. Kramer (Berlin, 1852), XVII. i. 15; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, ed. C. Mayhoff (Leipzig, 1875), XIII. xxii. 71.

⁶³ *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden*, IV (Berlin, 1904-12), nos. 1121, 1180.

⁶⁴ Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XIII. xxii. 73. The papyrus plant seems to have been introduced into Mesopotamia by the Seleucids in the 3rd century BC, probably because of the interruptions in the supply from Ptolemaic Egypt; see Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*, 11.

⁶⁵ Ibn Hawqal, *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, 86.

⁶⁶ Abū Šālīh, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries Attributed to Abu Salih, the Armenian*, ed. and B. T. A. Evetts (Oxford, 1895), 66; al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1892), 126, 127.

⁶⁷ al-Ya'qūbī, *al-Buldān*, 39; idem, *Tārīkh*, ed. M. T. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883), II. 577.

⁶⁸ e.g. Grohmann, *Protokolle*, nos. 116, 140, 162, 204.

⁶⁹ Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XIII. xxiii. 74 - xxvi. 82.

⁷⁰ ibid., XIII. xxiii. 77.

⁷¹ Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*, 47-9.

mallet was used to beat flat any remaining puckers, ridges or similar imperfections in the surface.⁷²

The only description of the manufacture of papyrus in the Arabic sources is by Abū al-Abbās al-Nabātī, who died in 637/1239 and, therefore, lived in a period long after papyrus had ceased to be produced.⁷³ According to al-Nabātī, the Egyptians of former times split the stalk of the papyrus into two halves and cut the pith vertically into strips. The strips were laid out side by side on a smooth piece of wood, and a second row of strips was laid over them at right angles. Unlike Pliny, al-Nabātī referred explicitly to the use of an artificial adhesive (*luzūja*). He recorded that the two layers of papyrus were pressed together and stuck with an agglutinative substance produced by dissolving seeds of the blue lotus (*Nymphaea coerulea* Sav.) in water. When dry, the sheet was beaten with a wooden beetle until all roughness was removed from it.

The size of papyrus sheets varied considerably in the Arab period. Grohmann has found that they ranged in width from 12.7 cm to 37 cm, and in height from 30 m to 58 cm.⁷⁴ Similar variations were found in the width and height of papyri in antiquity.⁷⁵

In the Arab period, as in the Classical period, different qualities of papyrus were produced. The Romans had terms for these - *charta emporitica* (commercial papyrus) for rough sheets not suitable for writing and used for wrapping merchandise, and *Augusta* and *Liviana* for extremely thin varieties.⁷⁶ An inferior type of papyrus corresponding to *charta emporitica* appears to have been used in the Arab period, for there are a number of references in Arabic papyri to the use of papyrus sheets for wrapping items such as jewels, medicine and garments.⁷⁷ Some

Arabic official documents are written on particularly fine papyrus.⁷⁸

Papyrus was not sold by the manufacturer as separate sheets but the sheets were pasted together to form a roll. One reason for this may have been that papyrus tended to fray at the edges. The vertical edges of sheets are particularly liable to damage by handling. In a roll these edges were eliminated. The sheets overlapped at the joins by varying amounts, usually about 2 cm in both the Greek and the Arab period.⁷⁹ The right edge of each sheet covered the left edge of the following sheet. Any roughness in the joins was smoothed down with the result that they did not offer any obstacle to the pen and were barely visible. On the inside surface facing inwards the papyrus fibres ran parallel to the length of the roll (i.e. its long axis). This arrangement was designed to minimise the chance of fibres coming apart. The vertical fibres on the outside are bent away from each other when rolled. If they were on the inside they would be pushed against one another and liable to spring loose. Moreover, if the horizontal fibres were on the outside the sheet joins would be subjected to strain when the roll was rolled up and the ends of the fibres liable to fray.

The scribe wrote on the protected inside of the roll. If there was cause to write on both sides, the inside of the roll was always written on first. We may, therefore, refer to the inward facing side as the recto and the outward facing side as the verso. When a piece was cut off the roll for a document or letter the scribe likewise wrote on the side that was originally inside the roll. In the Arab period nearly all the extant documents on the recto of the papyrus were written perpendicular to the fibres. That the side in question was the inside of the roll is shown by the fact that any joins of sheets that occur in the extant documents are parallel with the lines of writing. The practice of writing documents across the fibres is found in papyri since antiquity.

Lengthy documents had the form of *rotuli*, i.e. rolls that are unrolled vertically. Literary texts, on the other hand, were usually written on the roll in columns, with the lines running parallel with the fibres and perpendicular to the joins of the sheets. This type of roll was read horizontally. In the Byzantine period there was an increasing use of the codex for literary texts, and in the Arab period most of the extant papyri containing Arabic literary texts

⁷² Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XIII, xxv, 81.

⁷³ The description was included by al-Nabātī's pupil Ibn al-Baytār in his *Jāmi'*, (I, 87).

⁷⁴ Grohmann, *Allgemeine Einführung in die arabischen Papyri, nebst Grundzügen der arabischen Diplomatik*, Corpus Papyrorum Raineri Archiducis Austriae, III, Series Arabica, I/1 (Vienna, 1924), 40-1.

⁷⁵ Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XIII, xxiv, 78; Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*, 56.

⁷⁶ See Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XIII, xxiii, 74, 76. Isidore of Seville (*Origines*, ed. W. M. Lindsay [Oxford, 1911], VI, 10) reports slightly different names for these grades of papyrus: *emporetica*, *Augustea* and *Libyana*.

⁷⁷ Khan, *Arabic Papyri*, 149.

⁷⁸ Khan, *Arabic Papyri*, nos. 1 and 2.

⁷⁹ Grohmann, *Allgemeine Einführung*, 42.

are also leaves from codices. However, the papyrus roll in Heidelberg containing the collection of traditions of 'Abd Allāh b. Lahī'a⁸⁰ is written in the form of a *rotulus*.

The reason why documents were written across the fibres may have been to economise on papyrus. If the scribe wrote a short document along the fibres and cut it from the roll he would be likely to leave an awkward shape at the end of the roll.⁸¹

In both the Greek and Arab periods the first sheet of the roll was preceded by a preliminary sheet (*protokollon*) which, when attached, was turned back to front so that its fibres were vertical on the inside surface of the roll. In other words the fibres of the preliminary sheet were perpendicular to the fibres of the sheets in the rest of the roll. The purpose of this was to prevent the fibres of the first sheet from fraying.⁸²

The inner side of this preliminary sheet bore a text known as the protocol. This was written in Greek, following the Byzantine tradition, until 74/693–4 or 75/694–5, when, at the instance of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, bilingual (Greek and Arabic) protocols were introduced, and from the time of the caliph Hishām (*reg.* 724–43 AD) texts in Arabic alone were placed in this position. The Arabic protocols contained the *basmala*; various religious formulae, including the Quranic verses 3:173, 9:33 and 9:61, and a prayer for the Prophet (*taṣliya*); the names of the current caliph, the governor of Egypt or the head of the provincial treasury or both, and sometimes those of other high-ranking officials; and the name of the place where the papyrus was produced and often also the name of the supervisor of the papyrus mill. It appears that the manufacture of papyrus was a state monopoly in the Arab period, as it was in pre-Islamic Egypt, and the function of the protocol texts was to certify that a roll was produced by a state papyrus mill and so to protect the monopoly.⁸³

All the extant protocol texts in Arabic were written with thick strokes, possibly produced by a brush, and in some of the later protocols coloured inks were used for parts of the text. The

protocol sheet was sometimes cut off the roll, and the reverse reused for other texts.

The protocol sheet, which was, of course, wrapped around the outside of the papyrus roll, was generally made of thicker papyrus than the other sheets. Sometimes rolls were given the additional protection of parchment wrappers or were stored in receptacles of a hard material such as glass or clay. We learn from Pliny that in the Roman period a papyrus roll consisted of 20 sheets,⁸⁴ and this also appears to have been the case in the Arab period. Papyrus was sold either in complete rolls or in sections constituting one sixth of the roll. Such sections were known in Arabic as *ḡmār*, from Greek *tomarion*. The length of segments of papyrus shorter than a 20-sheet roll were usually expressed as multiples or fractions of a *ḡmār*.⁸⁵ Sometimes a small segment was referred to simply as *qit'at qirtās* ("a piece of papyrus").

Most Arabic papyri were written with a split reed pen (*qalam*). This had the same form as the Roman *calamus*, from which it derived its name. In some papyri the split reed has left a double line in the strokes of the letters. Occasionally the papyri bear an exceedingly thick script which must have been written with another type of instrument, possibly a bulrush cut on a slant or a brush. The ink was usually made from soot and is black in colour, but one sometimes finds a rusty-brown ink, which was presumably made from gallnuts.⁸⁶

Papyrus was relatively expensive. A roll could cost as much as one and a half *dīnārs* in the 9th century AD, a time when one *dīnār* was the annual rent of a *faddān* of arable land or of a shop, for example. As a result, most people took pains to use papyrus economically, and the blank verso of a sheet was frequently used to write another text. Sometimes this second text had no relationship to the text on the recto, but on occasion the addressee of a letter used the blank verso to write his reply, although this was considered to be impolite. When the caliph al-Mu'taṣim received a letter from the Byzantine emperor, for example, he had his reply written on the reverse, clearly with the intention of expressing his contempt for the emperor. The authors of replies written on the verso of the original letter often felt obliged to

⁸⁰ See references cited in note 21, p. 4 of this article.

⁸¹ For details concerning papyrus rolls, see E. G. Turner, "The Terms Recto and Verso. The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll", *Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie*, première partie (Brussels, 1978), 15–53.

⁸² *ibid.*, 21.

⁸³ Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri*, 39–42.

⁸⁴ Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XIII. xxiii. 77.

⁸⁵ Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri*, 43–4.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 62–8.

apologise, and in doing so they usually employed the formula *i'dhimi fī al-qirtās* ("forgive me concerning the papyrus").

In this paper I have given a brief survey of the growth of the discipline of Arabic papyrology and a description of various codicological aspects of Arabic papyri. I have made only fleeting reference to the importance of such papyri for the study of Arabic script, language and history.

In most respects Arabic papyrology is still relatively undeveloped. Its potential has certainly not been realised to the same extent as Greek papyrology. Thousands of Arabic papyri that have been preserved in the various collections remain unpublished. It is clearly a desideratum for these texts to be made available in published editions and for them to be granted the scholarly attention they deserve.

L'EMPLOI DU PARCHEMIN DANS LES MANUSCRITS ISLAMIQUE

Quelques remarques liminaires

FRANÇOIS DÉROCHE

Jusqu'au moment où le papier s'imposa de manière absolue, le parchemin (en arabe: *raqq*, *riqq*; également: *jild*) occupa aux côtés du papyrus une position privilégiée dans la fabrication des manuscrits; on ne le cantonna certes pas dans ce seul emploi, comme le montrent les nombreux documents sur parchemin que l'on inclut traditionnellement dans le domaine de la papyrologie arabe — mais dont nous ne parlerons pas dans le cadre de cet exposé, consacré au livre. En dépit de son ancienne suprématie, il reste comparativement peu de vestiges de cette production, ce qui explique peut-être notre relative ignorance quant à la façon dont ce matériau fut mis en œuvre par les copistes, mais aussi par les relieurs musulmans. Afin de pouvoir un jour écrire l'histoire du parchemin dans le monde islamique, les codicologues devront explorer le matériau conservé dans les bibliothèques afin d'étudier ses divers emplois: l'observation des pratiques liées à l'utilisation de ce matériau au cours des âges et dans l'ensemble du monde musulman permettra de jeter les bases de cette histoire. Le cas échéant, on combinera ces résultats avec les données textuelles — dont l'interprétation demeure bien souvent délicate — et avec les informations que pourraient fournir les analyses physico-chimiques de parchemins anciens. Enfin la comparaison avec ce que l'on sait de la fabrication et de l'utilisation de ce matériau par d'autres communautés (en Espagne ou au Moyen-Orient par exemple) permettra éventuellement de mieux comprendre certains processus ou de mieux poser les problèmes. Il importe en tout cas de prendre conscience que l'examen minutieux des manuscrits

eux-mêmes constitue une étape indispensable pour appréhender la façon dont le parchemin fut utilisé dans le domaine du livre.¹

Les exigences de ce vaste programme de recherches sont actuellement loin d'être satisfaites et les lignes qui suivent posent sans doute plus de questions qu'elles n'en résolvent: l'expérience que nous avons est en effet limitée à quelques centaines de manuscrits ou fragments de manuscrits, principalement des Corans, dont la provenance fait l'objet de discussions. Aussi, sauf exception, les implications géographiques de certaines de nos observations restent-elles obscures. On tentera donc plutôt de présenter une série d'études de cas à travers lesquelles on pourra analyser les emplois du parchemin dans une perspective chronologique, après un court rappel sur l'histoire et la technique de fabrication de ce matériau sujetile.

LE PARCHEMIN: ORIGINES, PRÉPARATION ET CARACTÉRISTIQUES

En dépit du nom qu'il porte dans plusieurs langues,² le parchemin n'a pas été "inventé" au II^e s. avant JC à Pergame.³ Il semble qu'il ait été connu et utilisé en Orient de longue date, peut-être dès le début du I^{er} millénaire avant JC.⁴ En dépit de son apparente

simplicité, la technique de fabrication du parchemin pose des problèmes si l'on en juge par les divergences d'interprétation que l'on constate dans la littérature spécialisée; il nous paraît cependant indispensable d'évoquer ce processus pour mieux comprendre l'utilisation de ce matériau. Qu'est-ce que le parchemin? Selon la définition d'un lexique de codicologie élaboré principalement à partir de données relatives à l'Europe, c'est une "peau d'animal épilée et effleurée ayant subi un traitement non tannant (ou très peu tannant) puis un séchage sous tension la rendant propre à recevoir l'écriture sur ses deux faces".⁵

La matière première est donc d'origine animale: le mouton, la chèvre, le veau, peut-être l'âne et, selon une tradition fortement enracinée, la gazelle.⁶ Comme on le verra plus loin, les textes paraissent indiquer que la peau de mouton était celle que l'on

d'écriture sur les deux côtés de la peau n'est pas un critère suffisant; de l'autre, des produits d'apparence voisine peuvent être le résultat de procédés de fabrication très différents (voir ci-dessous, n. 16).

⁵ D. Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire codicologique* (Paris, 1985), 39; Ryder ("Biology and History", 25) insiste sur le fait qu'il n'y a pas de tannage, alors que Haran, qui, il est vrai, parle de *skins*, soutient qu'un traitement légèrement tannant était appliqué aux peaux au cours du processus en usage au Moyen-Orient (M. Haran, "Technological Heritage in the Preparation of Skins for Biblical Texts in Medieval Oriental Jewry", *Pergament, Geschichte - Struktur - Restaurierung - Herstellung*, P. Rück éd. [Sigmaringen, 1991], 35 et 37). Reed était également de cet avis (*Ancient Skins*, 122-3). Beit-Arié, qui distingue également entre l'Orient et l'Europe — Espagne incluse, parle cependant de *parchemin* dans les deux cas (M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology* [Paris, 1976], 22, n. 25).

⁶ Il n'y a pas eu, à notre connaissance, d'enquête sur les espèces animales utilisées. Dans l'Antiquité, les sources ne fournissent aucune indication à ce sujet (cf. Bilabel, "Membrana", col. 597). Pour le monde islamique, les auteurs qui ont parlé de l'emploi du parchemin mentionnent mouton, chèvre et veau (cf. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, I, 108; Endress, "Pergament", 45; U. Dreiholz, "Der Fund von Sanaa. Frühislamische Handschriften auf Pergament", *Pergament, Geschichte - Struktur - Restaurierung - Herstellung*, P. Rück éd. [Sigmaringen, 1991], 301). Dans les catalogues ou les albums, la peau de gazelle est fréquemment mentionnée (cf. — à titre d'exemple — A. Mousa, *Islamische Buchmalerei* [Cairo, 1931], 46 et pl. XVIII [29]; M. Ülker, *Başlangıçtan günümüze Türk hat sanatı/The Art of Turkish Calligraphy from the Beginning up to the Present* [Ankara, 1987], 110); Grohmann consacre quelques lignes à la question (*Arabische Paläographie*, I, 110). Des recettes arméniennes énumèrent en revanche les espèces utilisées: chèvre, chevreau, mouton — domestique ou sauvage, mais aussi cerf, lièvre, veau et ânon (P. Schreiner, "Zur Pergamentherstellung im byzantinischen Osten", *Codices Manuscripti*, IX [1983], 126).

¹ On trouvera des indications utiles, bien que davantage orientées vers le domaine de la "papyrologie" arabe, dans A. Grohmann, s.v. "Djild", *EF*, II, 533-54; idem, *Arabische Paläographie*, I, *Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, XCIV (1967), 108-11; également chez J. Pedersen, *The Arabic book*, tr. by G. French, ed. with an introduction by R. Hillenbrand (Princeton, 1984), 55-7; G. Endress, "Pergament in der Codicologie des islamisch-arabischen Mittelalters", *Pergament, Geschichte - Struktur - Restaurierung - Herstellung*, P. Rück éd. (Sigmaringen, 1991), 45-6.

² Voir l'anglais *parchment*, l'allemand *Pergament*, le français *parchemin*, l'italien *pergameno*, etc. Le mot grec désignant le parchemin, *diphthera*, est à l'origine de l'arabe *daftār* (cf. B. Lewis, s.v. "Daftār", *EF*, II, 78).

³ Cf. F. Bilabel, s.v. "Membrana", *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XV/1 (Stuttgart, 1931), col. 596-601; Pliny l'Ancien serait responsable, selon Ryder, de la perpétuation de cette explication (M.L. Ryder, "The Biology and History of Parchment", *Pergament, Geschichte - Struktur - Restaurierung - Herstellung*, P. Rück éd. [Sigmaringen, 1991], 25).

⁴ R. Reed, *Ancient Skins, Parchments and Leathers* (London and New York, 1972), 277; Ryder, "Biology and History", 25. Il convient toutefois d'être prudent dans l'emploi du mot *parchemin*: d'une part, la présence

employait le plus communément. Pour le IV^e/X^e s., le *Calendrier de Cordoue* donne cependant une indication intéressante: au mois de mai, lit-on, "on fait du parchemin avec de la peau de faon et de gazelle jusqu'à la fin du mois de juillet".⁷ La peau des animaux sauvages passe pour être de meilleure qualité que celle des animaux domestiques;⁸ ce critère technique pourrait expliquer ce choix qui ne va pas toutefois sans poser de sérieux problèmes économiques si l'on réfléchit à la quantité de peaux nécessaires à la confection de manuscrits un peu épais. On pourrait également penser que la dénomination "peau de gazelle" fait plutôt référence à une certaine qualité de parchemin, comme le français *vélin*; une indication rencontrée dans le *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* de Dozy (2^e éd., Leiden/Paris, 1927) nous y invite: on y apprend en effet que *raqq ghazāl* signifie "parchemin vierge, la peau préparée des petits chevreaux ou agneaux morts nés".⁹ Parmi les traités de *hisba* qui nous donnent quelques indications fugitives sur les techniques employées, celui d'Ibn 'Abdūn, rédigé en Espagne vers la fin du V^e/XI^e s. ou au début du VI^e/XII^e, recommande de ne pas utiliser pour la préparation du parchemin "des peaux de moutons maigres";¹⁰ on en déduira que le mouton était l'animal le plus employé et que les parcheminiers savaient que l'état de santé de l'animal déterminait la qualité du parchemin: une bête sous-alimentée fournit une peau fine et faible au grain inégal, avec éventuellement des marques laissées par les os.¹¹ Pourtant, certains artisans devaient être moins scrupuleux — ce qui justifiait ce rappel à l'ordre. Il est en principe possible d'identifier l'animal dont la peau a été utilisée pour faire du parchemin d'après la disposition de la racine des poils observable sur le produit fini; mais bien souvent le traitement, s'il est un peu énergique, a fait disparaître ces traces. Faute d'identification

⁷ Le *calendrier de Cordoue*, R. Dozy éd., nouvelle éd. accompagnée d'une traduction française annotée par Ch. Pellat (Leiden, 1961), 90-1; nous remercions M. G. Guesdon d'avoir attiré notre attention sur ce passage.

⁸ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, 37; également 106, à propos de peaux de daim employées pour confectionner du parchemin.

⁹ T. I, p. 545, s.v. "Raqq". Il faut également tenir compte des réalités zoologiques: une gazelle de variété orientale doit donner une peau de 40 x 50 cm environ.

¹⁰ E. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane au début du XII^e s., Le traité d'Ibn 'Abdūn sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métier* (Paris, 1947), 133, no. 219 (= traduction); idem, *Documents arabes inédits sur la vie sociale et économique en Occident musulman au moyen-âge*, Première série, *Trois traités hispaniques de hisba* (texte arabe) (Cairo, 1955), 59 (= texte arabe).

¹¹ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, 37.

précise, on parlera de *parchemin*; le terme *vélin* doit être réservé au parchemin fabriqué à partir de la peau d'un jeune veau.

Le parcheminier commençait par éliminer le poil: des recettes médiévales de l'Occident nous apprennent que la peau de l'animal était plongée dans un bain de chaux afin d'arracher plus facilement la toison. Au IV^e/X^e s., cette technique est connue de l'auteur du *Fihrist* qui mentionne une pâte épilatoire, *nūra*, composée de chaux et d'arsenic¹²; elle présente, dit-il, l'inconvénient de rendre la peau sèche. Une autre technique, en usage à Kūfa, permettait d'obtenir une peau souple grâce à l'emploi d'une préparation à base de dattes.¹³ L'emploi de la chaux, qui est attesté au Moyen-Orient au III^e/IX^e s.,¹⁴ est indiqué dans une recette de préparation du parchemin qui figure dans un manuscrit latin copié au VIII^e s. en Italie, le MS Lucques, Biblioteca capitolare 490; deux hypothèses s'affrontent: dans l'une, le traitement des peaux dans un bain de chaux aurait été, sinon inventé par les Arabes, du moins transmis par eux aux Européens,¹⁵ alors que dans l'autre la diffusion de cette technique aurait eu lieu dans le sens inverse.¹⁶ L'utilisation de dattes est

¹² Cette composition ne figure pas dans le texte; elle est indiquée dans différents dictionnaires — qu'il s'agisse d'arabe, de turc ou de persan — et par B. Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm* (New York and London, 1970), I, 40, n. 92.

¹³ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, G. Flügel éd. (Leipzig, 1871-2), 21; B. Dodge, *The Fihrist*, 40.

¹⁴ Il est mentionné par R. Hay Gaon (Iraq, fin IX^e s.), cf. A. Harkavy, *Studien und Mittheilungen aus der kaiserlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg*, I/4 (Berlin, 1887), 28. Nous avons une dette particulière vis à vis de M. Garel qui a été un guide précieux dans ces passages délicats.

¹⁵ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, 135-6; Ryder, "Biology and History", 27.

¹⁶ Pour Schreiner, la méthode était connue dans l'Antiquité ("Zur Pergamentherstellung", 126); également Haran, "Technological Heritage", 42. Ces divergences, dues en partie à la difficulté d'interprétation des sources textuelles, ne retirent rien à l'intérêt d'une démarche comparatiste en codicologie. La confrontation des différentes traditions manuscrites dans des régions comme le Moyen-Orient ou l'Espagne peut compléter une information souvent indigente. Nous en voulons pour preuve la question du sciage des peaux dans le sens de l'épaisseur — il s'agit en somme de tirer deux feuilles d'une seule peau. M. Haran, qui considère qu'il existe deux traditions, l'une en Occident qui produit le parchemin proprement dit, la seconde en Orient donnant un produit analogue mais pas identique, estime que les parcheminiers musulmans maîtrisaient la technique de "sciage" que nous avons signalée et tiraient d'une peau le *raqq* (*raq* en hébreu) — qui correspond à la couche épaisse proche de la chair — et le *qasht*, la partie plus fine du côté poil ("Bible Scrolls in Eastern and Western Jewish Communities from Qumran to the High Middle Ages", *Hebrew Union*

quant à elle connue dans les communautés juives médiévales du Moyen-Orient.¹⁷ La craie était-elle employée pour éliminer la graisse? Nous n'avons pas d'indication à ce sujet dans les textes. On a observé en revanche sur des feuillets de Corans copiés en écriture *hijāzī* (et donc datables de la fin du I^{er}/VII^e ou du début du II^e/VIII^e s.) la présence d'une couche crayeuse qui pourrait correspondre à cette opération, à moins que ce procédé n'ait visé à donner une apparence plus homogène que deux côtés des feuillets.¹⁸ Reed mentionne l'emploi de craie ou de plâtre pour contrôler le séchage de la peau mise sous tension.¹⁹

Du côté chair de la peau, l'écharnage permettait d'éliminer avec un outil (une lame, par ex.) les résidus de chair et de graisse; le texte d'Ibn 'Abdūn semble insister sur ce point: "on ne doit apprêter que du parchemin raclé" — à moins qu'il ne mette l'accent sur la phase suivante, celle de la finition.²⁰ Après lui, 'Umar al-Garsifi (début du VII^e/XIII^e s.?) reviendra sur ce sujet:

College Annual, LVI [1985], 47-50). Outre un texte souvent invoqué de Maimonide (*Mishne Tora*, II Hilkhot tephillin 6-7), M. Haran cite un *responsum* du même Maimonide où figurent les noms de ces produits, mais il lit *qshṭ*, là où l'on trouve *qnt* dans le texte édité par Blau (J. Blau, *R. Moses ben Maimon Responsa* (Jerusalem, 1957-60), I, 268, 1.7, pour les textes arabe et hébreu). La littérature arabe ne paraît pas avoir conservé de trace de cette technique, et si la racine *qshṭ* offre un sens raisonnable, il n'existe pas d'attestation d'un mot *qshṭ* désignant une variété de parchemin dans les dictionnaires consultés (on retrouvera en revanche cette racine à propos du palimpseste: voir n. 94). La technique serait pourtant ancienne: avant Maimonide, qui vécut en Egypte au XII^e s., elle est visée par un *responsum* antérieur, daté du IX^e s., à une époque où le parchemin était encore produit couramment. Au terme de son étude, M. Haran reconstitue ainsi le procédé arabe de fabrication du *raqq* et du *qashṭ*: (i) la peau était salée pendant 2 ou 3 jours; (ii) elle était alors plongée dans un bain d'eau et de chaux; (iii) après cela, on la séchait sous tension sur des cadres de bois et le poil qui subsistait était alors éliminé; c'est également au cours de cette étape que *raqq* et *qashṭ* étaient séparés ("Bible Scrolls", 48-9). Comme on le voit, à l'exception de la dernière étape, le processus est en fait très voisin de celui que l'on connaissait en Europe. Ajoutons que nous n'avons pas pu vérifier l'existence, dans nos manuscrits, de parchemin obtenu par division de la peau.

¹⁷ Haran, "Technological Heritage", 36; idem, "Bible Scrolls", 36-7.

¹⁸ Dreiholz, "Der Fund von Sanaa", 301. Un examen microscopique réalisé récemment sur le ms Paris, BN Arabe 5935 semble indiquer la présence d'un traitement de la surface du parchemin par application d'un produit dont la nature reste à déterminer.

¹⁹ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, 147.

²⁰ Lévi-Provençal, *Documents arabes*, 59 (texte arabe) = *Séville musulmane*, 133, n° 219 (traduction).

"le *muḥtasib* surveillera particulièrement les papetiers; ... il en sera de même pour les parcheminiers quant au choix de la peau: celle-ci sera uniformément raclée et nettoyée".²¹ Il n'est pourtant pas sûr que, dans le monde islamique, on ait ensuite procédé à un ponçage méthodique de la peau, de manière à faire disparaître la différence entre les deux côtés. La phase essentielle du traitement consistait à laisser sécher la peau tendue sur des cadres; il fallait de l'espace que des parcheminiers andalous trouvaient dans les allées des cimetières, si bien qu'Ibn 'Abdūn doit rappeler qu' "il ne faut pas qu'on étende sur le sol même des allées (*sc.* du cimetière) des objets malpropres, tels que les peaux des tanneurs et des parcheminiers".²²

A en juger par les manuscrits sur parchemin qui ont été conservés, la plus grande diversité existe en ce qui concerne la qualité du parchemin. Celle-ci dépend de plusieurs facteurs que nous énumérerons brièvement. Comme on peut l'imaginer, les différentes espèces animales utilisées ne donnent pas des peaux de qualité identique; deux bêtes de la même espèce et de la même race ne donneront pas forcément des peaux de même qualité puisque, comme on l'a déjà observé, l'état de l'animal — et plus particulièrement de sa peau — a une incidence sur le produit fini. Des blessures, des piqûres ou des coups reçus antérieurement à l'abattage ont laissé leurs marques sur la peau qui peut avoir été également abîmée par endroits au cours de la préparation: ces diverses lésions laisseront des traces sur le parchemin, généralement sous forme de trous de forme circulaire ou ovale. A l'occasion, on a tenté de remédier à cela en cousant les deux lèvres du trou. Dans le MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (BN) Arabe 6095, une fine membrane parcheminée a été collée sur les trous qu'il fallait dissimuler, par ex. aux ff. 3, 5, 28.²³ Lors de la préparation de la peau, les tensions auxquelles elle est soumise

²¹ Lévi-Provençal, *Documents arabes*, 124 (texte arabe); R. Arié, "Traduction annotée et commentée des traités de hisba d'Ibn 'Abd al-Ra'ūf et de 'Umar al-Garsifi", *Hespéris Tamuda*, I (1960), 371.

²² Lévi-Provençal, *Documents arabes*, 27, 1. 17-8 (texte arabe) = *Séville musulmane*, 60, n° 54 (traduction).

²³ F. Déroche, *FIMMOD* [= *Fichiers des manuscrits moyen-orientaux datés*, Nouvelles des Manuscrits du Moyen-Orient, I- (Paris, 1992-)], n° 16; également dans le MS BN Arabe 6499, (G. Humbert, *FIMMOD*, n° 65; voir également plus bas) au f. 164. Le Moyen-Age connaissait le parchemin transparent (cf. Reed, *Ancient Skins*, 143-5, ainsi que ce qui est dit du *goldbeaters' parchment* p. 131).

peuvent faire apparaître des zones translucides que l'on appelle yeux, comme c'est le cas au f. 47 du MS BN Arabe 6090.²⁴

Indépendamment de ces accidents, un autre facteur dont il faut tenir compte est la qualité du travail de préparation du parchemin lui-même: l'artisan peut en effet avoir travaillé avec plus ou moins de soin ou de vigueur. Comme on l'a déjà vu, les parcheminiers ne semblent pas avoir veillé à éliminer la différence d'aspect entre les côtés *poil* (ou *fleur*) et *chair*: le second est plus blanc que le premier, qui laisse au toucher une impression de "velouté". L'encre accroche plus facilement le côté poil: on le remarque particulièrement bien dans des exemplaires du Coran copiés dans l'une ou l'autre des écritures abbassides anciennes de grand module.²⁵ En tenant le manuscrit ouvert de manière à rendre simultanément apparentes les marges de plusieurs feuillets consécutifs, la différence apparaît d'ordinaire aisément.²⁶ Le côté fleur a parfois conservé des indices plus explicites: les poils se maintiennent plus facilement sur le pourtour des trous dont nous avons signalé l'existence précédemment et sur les bords de la peau; on en voit un exemple dans le MS Paris, BN Arabe 6095, au f. 39 v.²⁷ Il arrive que le travail d'épilation ait été mené de manière imparfaite et que des poils subsistent en des endroits en principe moins difficiles à traiter que ceux qui viennent d'être mentionnés. Sur plusieurs manuscrits maghrébins, comme les MSS Paris, BN Arabe 5935²⁸ ou 6090,²⁹ la racine des poils est encore apparente, affleurant la surface du parchemin. Du côté chair, l'outil utilisé au cours de l'opération d'écharnage a pu laisser

des traces, par ex. au f. 17 du MS Paris, BN Arabe 6095.³⁰ S'il existe des parchemins de qualité médiocre, il en est d'autres qui sont remarquablement finis: le MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 27,³¹ a été copié sur un parchemin dont les deux côtés ont été très soigneusement préparés, si bien qu'ils ne présentent pratiquement pas de différence. La façon dont la peau est utilisée pour former les cahiers du manuscrit donne également lieu à des variations dont on verra plus loin quelques exemples.

Les dimensions du parchemin sont naturellement déterminées par celles de l'animal dont la peau a été utilisée; comme on le comprend bien, il existe des différences entre les espèces utilisées, mais aussi entre les individus d'une même espèce. Plus que des dimensions minimales, qui ne présentent guère d'intérêt,³² nous signalerons, à titre d'exemple, un manuscrit et un document qui paraissent indiquer les limites supérieures de la taille des parchemins. Les fragments du Coran, MS Paris, BN Arabe 324 comportent des feuillets abondamment rognés qui mesurent 537 x 620 mm.³³ Un document conservé à Londres, British Library Or. 4684/III, atteint 850 x 820 mm.³⁴

³⁰ Voir n. 23.

³¹ M. Lings, *The Qur'anic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination* (London, 1976), pl. 3 et 4; Ülker, *Türk hat sanatı/Turkish Calligraphy*, 105, 107; Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition*, 90-1, n° 41; tout ou partie du premier volume de ce Coran semble être conservé à Princeton (cf. P. K. Hitti, N. A. Faris et B. 'Abd al-Malik, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library* [Princeton, 1938], 359, n° 1156 = 35G).

³² Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, I, 111.

³³ E. Tisserant, *Specimina codicum orientalium* (Bonn, 1914), xxxii, pl. 42; R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran* (2^e éd., Paris, 1959), 96, 99, 100; G. Bergsträsser et O. Pretzl, *Die Geschichte des Korantexts*, dans Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, III (2^e éd., Leipzig, 1938), 254; Déroche, *Catalogue*, I/1, 75-7. D'autres feuillets figurent dans d'autres collections: Cairo, Dār al-Kutub (cf. B. Moritz, *Arabic palaeography* [Cairo, 1905], pl. 1-12) et Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek (cf. J. H. Möller, *Paläographische Beiträge aus den herzoglichen Sammlungen in Gotha*, I. Heft [Erfurt, 1844], pl. XIV). Il existe d'autres manuscrits de dimensions voisines et de style comparable; selon une source non scientifique (F. Neema, "Restaurado, el Coran mas antiguo", *Excelsior*, Mexico, D.F., suppl., du dimanche 25/07/1993), le Coran de la mosquée Sayyidna al-Husayn au Caire mesurerait 700 x 600 mm (cf. S. al-Munajjid, *Dirāsāt fī ta'rīkh al-khaṭṭ al-'arabī mundhu bidāyatihī ilā nihāyat al-'asr al-'umawī*, Beirut, s.d. [1971], p. 53-4). Selon Reed (*Ancient Skins*, 130), ces dimensions correspondraient à un parchemin préparé à partir de peau de chèvre.

³⁴ Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, I, 111.

²⁴ E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes des nouvelles acquisitions* (1884-1924) (Paris, 1925), 184; Déroche, *FiMMOD*, n° 68.

²⁵ F. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran, aux origines de la calligraphie coranique*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits arabes, 2^e partie, Manuscrits musulmans, I/1 (Paris, 1983) [= *Catalogue*, I/1], 20; Dreiholz, "Der Fund von Sana'a", 301. On trouvera un exemple significatif dans F. Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition, Qur'āns of the 8th to the 10th Centuries AD*, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, I (London and Oxford, 1992), 62-3, n° 15.

²⁶ Il faut, pour que l'expérience soit probante, éviter le milieu des cahiers ou encore les premier et dernier feuillets de deux cahiers contigus (voir plus bas).

²⁷ Voir n. 23.

²⁸ F. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran, du Maghreb à l'Insulinde*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits arabes, 2^e partie, Manuscrits musulmans, I/2 (Paris, 1985) [= *Catalogue*, I/2], 34-5, n° 302 et pl. XIV a.

²⁹ Voir n. 24.

Avant d'être utilisé par le copiste, le parchemin pouvait être teint; comme on sait, cette pratique était bien connue dans le bassin de la Méditerranée.³⁵ Il est inutile de revenir sur le plus célèbre manuscrit islamique copié sur du parchemin teint, le fameux Coran bleu³⁶; les artisans musulmans avaient à leur disposition d'autres coloris, comme le jaune safran ou l'orange.³⁷ La spécificité du parchemin explique que l'on ait également connu des encres de couleur d'un emploi réservé au parchemin: Ibn Bādīs en signale une dorée, mais aussi une autre, bleue.³⁸

A la différence du papyrus dont la production est circonscrite aux quelques régions bien définies où le *Cyperus papyrus* L. peut pousser, le parchemin peut en principe être fabriqué en n'importe quel endroit, puisque la matière première est pratiquement disponible en tout lieu et que la technique est relativement simple. C'était là un avantage important: les utilisateurs ne dépendaient pas d'un approvisionnement venu d'une contrée éloignée par des routes que les circonstances politiques ou économiques pouvaient interrompre. Il est vrai que certaines villes étaient réputées pour la qualité du parchemin qu'on y fabriquait et il est permis de penser que ces produits étaient recherchés: Kūfa ou Edesse (al-Ruhā') jouissaient d'une réputation flatteuse en ce domaine.³⁹

³⁵ Selon Bilabel, "Membrana", col. 598, l'Antiquité connaissait le parchemin teint en jaune: il cite à cet effet Isidore de Séville, "*fiabant autem coloris lutei*", qui mentionne en outre du parchemin teint en pourpre: "*membrana autem aut candida aut lutea aut pupurea sunt*" (San Isidoro de Sevilla, *Etimologías*, texto latino, version española y notas por J. Oroz Reta y M.-A. Marcos Casquero, Introduction general por M. C. Diaz y Diaz (Madrid, 1982-3), I, 586-9 (= VI, xi, 2-5). Bilabel a remarqué dans la collection des fragments coptes sur parchemin de la bibliothèque de l'Université d'Heidelberg des exemples de coloration en jaune. Les exemples byzantins — qui ont pu influencer la production en Terre d'Islam — sont mieux connus (voir par ex. l'anecdote rapportée par Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, I, 111).

³⁶ Deux études lui ont été consacrées par J. Bloom: "Al-Ma'mun's Blue Koran" *Revue des Etudes Islamiques (REI)*, LIV (1986), 59-65; "The Blue Koran. An Early Fatimid Kufic Manuscript from the Maghrib" *Les manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, F. Déroche éd., Varia Turcica VIII (Istanbul and Paris, 1989), 95-9. Une bibliographie figure dans Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition*, 92.

³⁷ Pour un exemple de teinture orangée, voir *ibid.*, 58, n° 11.

³⁸ M. Levey, *Medieval Arabic Bookmaking and its Relation to Early Chemistry and Pharmacology*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, LIII/4 (Philadelphia, 1962), 22-3.

³⁹ Selon Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, I, 110, qui renvoie à al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī et al-Bakrī; on ajoutera le passage du *Fihrist* déjà mentionné (voir n. 13).

mais les raisons — techniques,⁴⁰ climatiques?⁴¹ — de cette excellence de nous sont malheureusement pas précisées.

SA MISE EN ŒUVRE DANS LES MANUSCRITS ISLAMIQUES

Quand on parle de manuscrits islamiques, la forme familière du *codex* s'impose spontanément à l'esprit; et s'il est vrai qu'elle est majoritaire — et de très loin — dans la production qui nous est parvenue, elle ne fut pas la seule. En ce qui concerne le parchemin, nous connaissons au moins un cas où il servit à confectionner des manuscrits qui n'étaient pas des *codices*: nous voulons parler de ces rouleaux (*rotuli* selon la terminologie en usage, et non pas *volumina*)⁴² dont un petit nombre nous a été conservé. On sait que cette forme était familière au monde islamique ancien, mais peu de témoins subsistent.⁴³ Dans la collection du Musée des arts turc et islamique d'Istanbul,⁴⁴ on peut voir des fragments du texte coranique copiés sur des

⁴⁰ Dans le cas de Kūfa, il est permis de penser que l'emploi de la préparation à base de dattes que nous avons signalée plus haut avait une incidence sur la renommée des parchemins qui y étaient produits. Il pourrait y avoir là une relative analogie avec le cas de Pergame où, selon certains, la technique de production du parchemin aurait fait de sensibles progrès au point de valoir à la ville de passer pour le berceau du parchemin (cf. Ryder, "Biology and History", 25).

⁴¹ Reed souligne l'importance de l'eau dans le processus de fabrication et les problèmes liés au séchage en pays chaud (*Ancient Skins*, 132, 147).

⁴² *Rotulus* désigne un rouleau sur lequel les lignes d'écriture sont perpendiculaires au sens de déroulement: sur le *volumen*, les lignes sont groupées en colonnes et sont parallèles au sens de déroulement.

⁴³ Des rouleaux de cuir étaient utilisés par l'administration sassanide (cf. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, I, 107, et réf.). La chancellerie abbasside aurait abandonné le rouleau pour le *codex* (*ibid.*, 108); toutefois des *codices* documentaires de l'administration de l'Égypte omeyyade ont été conservés (voir la liste dans J. Gascou, "Les *codices* documentaires égyptiens", *Les débuts du codex*, A. Blanchard éd. (Turnhout, 1989), 100). Le rouleau — vraisemblablement *rotulus* — est également connu dans le domaine littéraire (cf. N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, II, *Qur'anic commentary and tradition* [Chicago, 1967], 57-8).

⁴⁴ S. Ory, "Un nouveau type de mushaf, inventaire des Corans en rouleaux de provenance damascaine, conservés à Istanbul", *REI*, XXXIII (1965), 87-149.

rouleaux qui pouvaient être constitués de plusieurs morceaux cousus⁴⁵ ou collés⁴⁶ bout à bout.

La confection des cahiers: les manuscrits coraniques anciens

Comme le papyrus, le parchemin est un matériau dont l'emploi est anciennement attesté dans le domaine arabe.⁴⁷ Dans les premiers temps de l'islam, il est utilisé en concurrence avec le papyrus aussi bien dans l'administration que pour la copie des manuscrits. Il est assez onéreux; aussi n'hésite-t-on pas à le réemployer, ainsi qu'on le verra plus loin, et ce dès une époque ancienne. L'apparition du papier remettra en cause l'emploi du parchemin, ce malgré les qualités de ce dernier et particulièrement sa résistance; du IV^e/X^e s. jusqu'au VIII^e/XIV^e s. — peut-être même jusqu'au IX^e/XV^e s.,⁴⁸ son utilisation se restreint et les formules pour le mettre en œuvre évoluent. Nous n'avons pas d'estimation du nombre des manuscrits arabes musulmans copiés sur parchemin; au cours de notre enquête, il est apparu que la proportion des Corans dans notre échantillon était particulièrement importante, soit que l'on ait préféré ce support pour la copie de ce texte, soit qu'on ait apporté plus de soin à sa conservation — ces deux facteurs pouvant d'ailleurs se combiner. Nous n'avons pas mis en évidence de techniques particulières dans l'emploi du parchemin

⁴⁵ S. Ory, "Un nouveau type de mushaf", 97, 101, 102. On trouve aussi bien du fil — éventuellement en soie — qu'un cordon en cuir (ibid., 116).

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 114.

⁴⁷ Le parchemin est mentionné dans le Coran (S. LII, v. 3); comme le papyrus — et pour les mêmes raisons, le parchemin était connu en Arabie préislamique ainsi que le rappelle Grohmann (*Arabische Paläographie*, I, 109).

⁴⁸ Grohmann déclare que l'emploi le plus récent — daté — de parchemin est de 498/1105 (*Arabische Paläographie*, I, 111; repris par Endress, "Pergament", 45, avec une erreur dans la date); cela ne peut s'appliquer qu'aux "papyrus" (voir note n. 1). Pour des manuscrits, et tout particulièrement pour ceux du Coran, les choses sont différentes: au cours de nos recherches, nous avons trouvé jusque dans la première moitié du IV^e/X^e s. des exemples d'emploi du parchemin pour des copies du Coran réalisées en Orient (cf. par ex., F. Déroche, "Collections de manuscrits anciens du Coran à Istanbul: Rapport préliminaire", *Études médiévales et patrimoine turc*, J. Sourdlet-Thomine éd. (Paris, 1983), 155: un Coran copié à Fustât en 325/936-7). D'autres manuscrits pourraient être postérieurs. On tiendra compte également du MS BN Arabe 2547 daté de 980/1572-3 et que nous présentons plus loin.

selon qu'il s'agissait ou non de Corans; au plus pourrait-on noter que la matière première est en moyenne d'une meilleure qualité dans le premier cas, mais il serait indispensable d'examiner un nombre plus important de manuscrits non coraniques sur parchemin pour aboutir à une conclusion sérieuse en ce domaine.

Avant d'étudier la façon dont les copistes musulmans constituaient les cahiers de parchemin, il ne nous paraît pas inutile de rappeler comment procédaient les copistes de l'Occident médiéval: ceux-ci pliaient généralement une, deux, trois ou quatre fois la peau en deux, ce qui avait pour conséquence de produire des cahiers constitués de 2 (*in folio*), 4 (*in quarto*), 8 (*in octavo*) ou 16 (*in 12*) feuillets...⁴⁹ Ce mode de pliage avait une autre conséquence: elle est formulée par la règle de Gregory, ainsi appelée du nom du savant allemand qui fit observer le premier que, dans un cahier, les deux côtés des feuillets qui se faisaient face étaient de même nature. Ainsi, si le f° x v° est le côté fleur de parchemin, le recto qui lui fait face (f° x + 1 r°) sera également le côté fleur (*cf.* fig. 2).

Au début de notre recherche sur les Corans sur parchemin conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale, nous avions mis à part les quelques manuscrits qui comportaient des séquences textuelles suffisantes pour qu'il fût possible d'en tirer des enseignements sur la façon dont les cahiers étaient constitués. Parmi ces copies, le MS Smith-Lesouëf 193 était de ceux dont la composition avait valeur d'exemple:⁵⁰ malgré la perte, çà et là, de quelques feuillets (voir par ex. le cahier III, fig. 3), il apparut très vite que les cahiers comportaient dix feuillets qui présentaient la séquence suivante:⁵¹

p/c, p/c, p/c, p/c, p/c + c/p, c/p, c/p, c/p, c/p (fig. 3).

Ces observations trouveront leur confirmation dans l'étude de deux grandes collections de Corans copiés sur parchemin entre la

⁴⁹ L. Gilissen, *Prolegomènes à la codicologie. Recherches sur la construction des cahiers et la mise en page des manuscrits médiévaux* (Ghent, 1977), 26-35; J. Lemaire, *Introduction à la codicologie* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1989), 69-94.

⁵⁰ Déroche, *Catalogue*, I/1, 96, no. 110; on rencontre la même structure dans le fragment BN Arabe 358 b, datable d'avant 300/913-4 (*cf.* *FIMMOD*, n° 19).

⁵¹ Un feuillet correspond à un ensemble "p/c" ou "c/p" (c = côté chair; p = côté poil); le passage de la couture au centre du cahier est indiqué par "+".

fin du I^{er}/VII^e s. et le courant du IV^e/X^e s., celle de Paris d'abord, celle du Musée des arts turc et islamique d'Istanbul par la suite. On remarque que l'écrasante majorité des manuscrits est constituée de cahiers de 10 feuillets — des *quinions*; l'implication immédiate de cette observation est que ce type de cahier ne peut être obtenu par un pliage simple, ce que confirme la suite de l'analyse. La façon dont le parchemin est utilisé pour former chaque cahier montre une même cohérence dans les habitudes des artisans du livre: le recto du f^o 1 (ou *côté de première*) est pratiquement toujours le côté poil du parchemin;⁵² les recto des feuillets suivants, soit les f^{os} 2, 3, 4 et 5 du cahier, sont également des côtés poil (cf. fig. 1). La règle de Gregory ne s'applique donc pas; lorsque le manuscrit est ouvert, un contraste apparaît entre les deux moitiés d'une double page,⁵³ sauf au point de rencontre de deux cahiers — où l'on trouvera deux côtés poil l'un en face de l'autre — et au milieu de chaque cahier — où, tout naturellement, on trouvera deux côtés chair. Il arrive que, par accident, cette disposition soit enfreinte à l'intérieur d'un cahier dans un manuscrit dans lequel, par ailleurs, la séquence que nous venons de décrire est rigoureusement observée. On est conduit à supposer que les copistes — ou les *warrāqs* — du monde islamique ne pliaient pas les peaux, mais débitaient préalablement le parchemin en morceaux selon la dimension qu'ils souhaitaient donner au manuscrit; de ce fait, une peau pouvait être employée dans différents cahiers, voire dans différents manuscrits.⁵⁴ Puis des morceaux de même taille, en principe au nombre de cinq, étaient empilés dans la même position et pliés en deux en leur milieu de manière à former un cahier.

Nous avons déjà souligné à quel point cette façon de faire s'écartait de celle qui était communément employée en Occident. S'agissait-il d'une innovation ou existait-il dans le domaine du livre une tradition qui avait pu être reprise par les artisans musulmans? La fabrication du codex de papyrus pourrait constituer un élément de réponse: on a en effet observé que, pour fabriquer un cahier, on débitait le rouleau de papyrus en feuilles

⁵² Les "papyrus" de parchemin sont en revanche d'abord utilisés du côté chair (cf. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, I, 111); selon M. Haran ("Bible Scrolls", 48), les copistes arabes auraient agi de même dans le cas du *raqq* obtenu par "sciage" de la peau dans le sens de l'épaisseur, alors qu'ils préféraient employer d'abord le côté poil du *qashf*.

⁵³ Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire codicologique*, 92: "ensemble de deux pages se faisant vis-à-vis, constitué par le verso d'un feuillet et le recto du suivant".

⁵⁴ Voir le cas du MS BN Arabe 5935.

qu'on empilait au fur et à mesure, les fibres horizontales au-dessus; le nombre voulu de feuilles ayant été ainsi assemblé, on pliait le tas en deux par le milieu et on obtenait un cahier où, systématiquement, une page avec les fibres verticales faisait face à une page avec les fibres horizontales — à l'exception, naturelle, de la double page située au milieu du cahier.⁵⁵ Il est tentant d'expliquer la séquence des côtés fleur à l'intérieur des cahiers des manuscrits que nous venons de décrire par référence à l'empilement des bifeuillets de papyrus au cours du débitage du rouleau; la formule du quinion, que l'on rencontre parfois dans les cahiers de papyrus, peut s'expliquer par la commodité qu'elle représente du point de vue des comptes.⁵⁶ On notera enfin que cette façon de composer les cahiers semble avoir été connue dans les plus anciens manuscrits syriaques.⁵⁷

La séquence des côtés du parchemin dans les quinions ne constitue pas l'unique originalité des manuscrits du Coran de ces deux collections. L'utilisation des peaux y est également très particulière: en observant les cahiers, nous avions remarqué la présence assez fréquente de talons, ce dès une date assez ancienne puisqu'un fragment coranique *hijāzī*, le MS Paris, BN Arabe 328 a, comporte un feuillet (f. 17) qui s'achève par un talon. Vérification faite, la présence de ces talons ne correspondait pas à des pertes de texte. Une recherche plus approfondie a permis de découvrir que des feuillets isolés, pourvus de talon, ont été systématiquement intégrés dans les cahiers en "remplacement" de bifeuillets authentiques. A l'intérieur de quinions, leur nombre varie de 2 à 8 (cf. fig. 4 et 5), voire 10! Une étude plus

⁵⁵ Voir par ex. J. Robinson, "Codicological Analysis of Nag Hammadi Codices V and VI and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502", *Nag Hammadi Studies* X (Leiden, 1979), 14-15; A. Wouters, "From Papyrus Roll to Papyrus Codex, Some Technical Aspects of the Ancient Book Fabrication", *Manuscripts of the Middle East (MME)*, V (1990-1), 12.

⁵⁶ Il n'est pas sûr qu'il y ait eu unanimité dans la composition des rouleaux de papyrus: le nombre de 20 feuilles collées bout à bout est parfois mentionné à la suite de Plin, mais ne constitue pas une règle; il ne nous paraît pas nécessaire de chercher dans cette direction l'origine de nos quinions puisque, de toute façon, le débitage du rouleau se faisait indépendamment des "joints" (grec *kolleis*, au sg.) entre les feuilles (grec *kollema*, au sg.).

⁵⁷ Par ex. le MS Paris, BN Syriaque 27 qui est antérieur à 720. Avant 640, les cahiers de 8 ou 10 ff. coexistent, mais également au-delà de cette date (cf. W. H. P. Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* [Boston, 1946], 23; M. Mundell Mango, "The Production of Syriac Manuscripts, 400-700 AD", *Scrittura, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*, G. Cavallo, G. de Gregorio et M. Maniacci éd., I [Spoleto, 1991], 163).

approfondie d'une série de manuscrits formant un groupe homogène tant du point de vue de la paléographie que de celui de la codicologie a permis d'établir que seul le quart des quinions était composé de cinq bifeuillets⁵⁸; dans les autres cas, des feuillets isolés avaient été enchâssés de manière symétrique dans les cahiers de manière à remplacer le ou les bifeuillets qui auraient dû se trouver à leur place (cf. fig. 6). La formule la plus commune, d'une fréquence analogue à celle des cahiers de cinq bifeuillets, voit l'insertion de deux feuillets isolés qui constituent les ff° 3 et 8 dans le quinion. Au total, c'est dans 40% des cas que l'on trouve deux feuillets isolés intercalés symétriquement en des positions variables parmi les bifeuillets. Assez fréquente également (environ 10% de cas) était la formule dans laquelle six feuillets isolés (soit trois groupes de deux feuillets) étaient insérés entre deux bifeuillets. Il semble que, dans la mesure du possible, on ait veillé à ne pas mettre en danger la solidité du cahier — et donc du manuscrit.⁵⁹

Il convient d'ajouter qu'il existe des exceptions à cette façon de faire; il arrive, rarement, que le total des feuillets d'un cahier soit inférieur ou supérieur à dix: neuf ou onze, par exemple, sans qu'il y ait de lacune dans le texte. Il arrive, un peu plus souvent, que la position des feuillets isolés ne soit pas symétrique; ainsi, ils occuperont la position des ff° 3 et 7 dans le cahier, au lieu de 3 et 8. Mais on constate que la répartition dans les deux moitiés du cahier subsiste et que la séquence des côtés du parchemin est respectée.

La confection des cahiers: cas particuliers à l'époque ancienne

Ce que nous venons de décrire est particulièrement caractéristique de manuscrits coraniques qui datent principalement du III^e/IX^e s.⁶⁰ En fut-il toujours ainsi? Pour répondre à cette

⁵⁸ F. Déroche, "A propos d'une série de manuscrits coraniques anciens", *Les manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, Déroche éd., Varia Turcica VIII (Istanbul and Paris, 1989), 107-8.

⁵⁹ Il faudrait pouvoir déterminer si la présence d'un nombre plus ou moins élevé de feuillets indépendants avait une incidence sur le prix des manuscrits; comme on sait, cette question reste obscure et risque fort, faute de données fiables, de le rester.

⁶⁰ La période couverte par cette production va en fait de la fin du II^e/VIII^e s. au milieu du IV^e/X^e s., mais la majorité des exemplaires étudiés appartiennent au III^e/IX^e s.

question de manière satisfaisante, il serait nécessaire de travailler sur des séries numériquement importantes, comme cela fut le cas pour les manuscrits dont il vient d'être question; or le nombre des manuscrits antérieurs au III^e/IX^e s. est plus réduit, ce qui ne peut que compliquer l'interprétation de l'image contrastée qu'on retire de leur examen. Le fragment de Coran Paris, BN Arabe 328a — déjà mentionné — aurait été copié au début du II^e/VIII^e s., peut-être même à la fin du I^{er}/VII^e s.;⁶¹ cette datation s'appuie sur la paléographie: l'écriture appartient au groupe *hijāzī*. Ces feuillets épars acquis au Caire par J. L. Asselin de Cherville entrèrent au cours du XIX^e s. dans la collection de la bibliothèque; à cette occasion, on les relia et, pour mieux les protéger, on inséra entre eux des feuilles de papier qui présentent l'inconvénient de gêner l'observation codicologique. Plusieurs groupes de feuillets portent un texte continu: les ff° 4 à 22, 23 à 40 et 41 à 48; on peut y ajouter les ff° 57 à 64 — autrement dit le fragment Arabe 328b — que nous avions considéré comme distinct d'un point de vue paléographique, mais qui doit avoir fait partie du même Coran.⁶² Faute d'avoir pu pousser très loin l'analyse codicologique, pour les raisons que nous venons d'exposer, nous proposons avec les réserves qui s'imposent l'analyse suivante: le fragment comporte quatre quaternions, les ff° 7-14, 24-31, 32-39 et 57-64; on peut ajouter le cahier des ff° 42-48 (soit 7 ff°), dont le feuillet ultime a disparu. Aux ff° 15-21, il s'agit en revanche d'une irrégularité. La séquence des côtés du parchemin, par exemple aux ff° 7-14, est intéressante.⁶³

c/p, p/c, c/p, p/c + c/p, p/c, c/p, p/c (cf. fig. 7).

Comme cette disposition est observable ailleurs, on pourrait penser que ce manuscrit constitue un exemple de l'obtention de cahiers par pliage. Mais deux des quaternions nous invitent à écarter cette hypothèse: les bifeuillets des ff° 43-48 et 44-47 de

⁶¹ M. Amari, "Bibliographie primitive du Coran", *Centenario della nascita di M. Amari*, H. Derenbourg éd. (Palermo, 1910), I, 18-19; Tisserant, *Specimina*, xxxii et pl. 41a; Bergsträsser et Pretzl, *Die Geschichte des Korantexts*, 225 et fig. 9; N. Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script and its Qur'anic Development, with a Full Description of the Qur'an Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute* (Chicago, 1938), 24; A. Grohmann, "The problem of dating early Qur'ans", *Der Islam*, XXXIII (1958), 216, 222, 226 et n. 48; Déroche, *Catalogue*, I/1, 59-60, n° 2.

⁶² Voir n. 61; aussi Déroche, *Catalogue*, I/1, 60, n° 3.

⁶³ Voir n. 51.

même que ceux des ff° 59–62 et 60–61 opposent des côtés chair à des côtés poil. C'est un argument très fort contre le pliage; en revanche, on notera que le côté chair est systématiquement côté de première des différents cahiers.

Il ne faut pourtant pas conclure que le quaternion du type décrit est le seul modèle connu à l'époque; un autre manuscrit en caractères *hijāzī*, Paris, BN Arabe 328c, est formé de quinions de composition habituelle (c'est à dire avec le côté poil formant le recto de tous les feuillets dans la première moitié). Il faudra attendre que les Corans *hijāzī* soient mieux connus pour distinguer des orientations d'ensemble. Pour le moment, nous constaterons qu'une relative diversité dans l'emploi du parchemin prévaut pour cette période — fin I^{er}/VII^e et début II^e/VIII^e s. Elle ne présente pas un caractère exceptionnel en ce qui concerne le nombre des feuillets par cahier; la place du côté chair comme côté de première nous semble en revanche plus inhabituelle.

Nous avons évoqué plus haut le MS Paris, BN Arabe 324 qui peut être daté de la seconde moitié du II^e/VIII^e s.: un premier examen permet de constater qu'une majorité des feuillets a pour recto le côté chair. Deux séries de feuillets — les ff° 18 à 27 puis 30 à 37 — présentent un texte continu, sur dix feuillets dans le premier cas, sur huit dans le second; comme nous l'avons indiqué, le côté chair du parchemin est le recto des feuillets, à l'exception du f° 23, inversé. On pourrait penser qu'il s'agit de vestiges de cahiers de 16 ou 20; une autre explication nous paraît préférable, à la lumière de l'étude des 122 feuillets de texte coranique rassemblés dans les MSS Istanbul, TIEM 51 et 52, dont l'écriture est analogue à celle des fragments parisiens et qui présente une suite continue de côtés chair comme recto.⁶⁴ Dans les deux cas, il s'agit de manuscrits *in plano*, c'est à dire que chacun de leurs feuillets correspond à une peau entière;⁶⁵ le cahier cesse d'être le fondement du livre. Les feuillets sont tous placés de la même façon, autrement dit: tous les recto sont des côtés chair du parchemin, tous les verso étant des côtés poil. Aucun de ces manuscrits ne nous est malheureusement parvenu avec sa reliure originelle, si bien qu'il n'est pas possible de savoir

comment les feuillets étaient tenus ensemble; étaient-ils cousus à plat⁶⁶ ou montés sur onglet? Leur état de conservation ne permet pas de décider quelle solution leur fut appliquée. Le MS Šan'a', Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt 20–33.1 semble également composé de cette façon, mais il n'est pas précisé si tous les feuillets ont la même orientation.⁶⁷

D'autres formules de composition des cahiers de parchemin apparaissent occasionnellement. Le quaternion intervient parfois dans des manuscrits de format oblong du III^e/IX^e s. et dans des Corans de format vertical du IV^e/X^e s.: curieusement, cela n'a pas d'incidence sur la séquence des côtés du parchemin qui reste conforme à ce qui a été dit précédemment, le côté poil étant côté de première. Quelques cas sont déconcertants. Ainsi les MSS Istanbul, TIEM 552 et 553 (III^e/IX^e s.) sont-ils formés de quaternions, à l'intérieur desquels le recto des ff° 1, 2 et 4 est le côté poil, tandis que le f° 3 est à l'envers — son recto est le côté chair. Un autre manuscrit fragmentaire de cette collection, ŠE 148, semble constitué de quinions qui tendent à respecter la règle de Gregory, mais dont le côté de première est tantôt poil, tantôt chair; par ailleurs, un "incident" affecte fréquemment les bifeuillets n° 2 et/ou 4.

La confection des cahiers: le cas du Maghreb

Dans la partie occidentale du monde musulman, le parchemin est resté plus longtemps en usage — surtout pour la copie du Coran: c'est en effet jusqu'au VIII^e/XIV^e s., peut-être même jusqu'au IX^e/XV^e s., que ce matériau s'y maintient, aux côtés du papier. Cette manifestation de conservatisme ne doit pas laisser penser que la mise en œuvre du parchemin se conforme aux usages que nous venons de décrire. Au contraire, on note que, dans l'ensemble, la succession des côtés du parchemin est conforme à la règle de Gregory et qu'il n'y a pas à proprement parler de préférence marquée pour telle ou telle formule de composition des cahiers. Le quinion n'est pas inconnu: deux manuscrits de la

⁶⁴ Il est difficile de juger sur les photos du Coran de la mosquée Sayyidnā al-Ḥusayn du Caire (voir n. 33) si la même disposition est observée.

⁶⁵ Il n'y a donc pas eu de *pliage* comme c'est habituellement le cas — depuis l'*in folio*, formé par pliage en deux d'une feuille de parchemin, jusqu'à des formules où la peau est pliée successivement à plusieurs reprises.

⁶⁶ C'est à dire en piquant à travers toute l'épaisseur d'un groupe de feuillets, le long de la marge intérieure, à courte distance du pli (cf. Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire codicologique*, 179).

⁶⁷ Dreiholz, "Der Fund von Sanaa", 301, n. 9.

collection parisienne, les MSS Arabe 6090⁶⁸ et 6499⁶⁹ comportent des quinions — bien que cette formule ne soit pas la seule qu'on y rencontre. Le cas échéant, les cahiers de parchemin peuvent être plus importants: ceux de MS Arabe 6095 ont ainsi jusqu'à 14 ff.⁷⁰ Les copistes ont également employé des quaternions, par exemple dans les MSS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Arabe 385⁷¹ ou Vatican, Biblioteca Vaticana, Arab. 881.⁷² Comme le remarque P. Orsatti,⁷³ le ternion semble avoir été une particularité maghrébine liée à l'emploi du parchemin. C'est là une divergence notable par rapport aux habitudes que l'on a pu dégager pour les Corans de la période ancienne. Dans les copies du Coran sur parchemin provenant de l'Occident musulman, les ternions sont fréquents: ainsi huit des manuscrits coraniques conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sont-ils composés de ternions, soit exclusivement, soit en forte proportion.⁷⁴ A la Bibliothèque Vaticane, deux manuscrits non coraniques sur parchemin sont formés de cahiers de ce type, de même que six des sept Corans de la collection.⁷⁵ Dans tous ces manuscrits, qu'il s'agisse de ceux de la Bibliothèque Nationale ou de ceux du Vatican, la règle de Gregory est respectée comme on le voit, par exemple, dans les ternions du MS Arabe 395 — qui

⁶⁸ Voir n. 24.

⁶⁹ Voir ci-dessous.

⁷⁰ Voir n. 23; chaque *juz'* est formé de deux cahiers: le premier comporte toujours 14 ff, alors que le second compte de 8 à 12 ff.

⁷¹ E. Blochet *Les enluminures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1926), 62-4; *Les arts de l'Iran, l'ancienne Perse et Bagdad* [exposition, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris], (Paris, 1938), 172-3, n° 109; G. Vajda *Album de paléographie arabe* (Paris, 1958), pl. 46; *Trésors d'Orient* [exposition, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris] (Paris, 1972), 64, n° 172; Lings, *The Qur'anic Art of Calligraphy*, 205 et pl. 104-5; M. Lings et Y. H. Safadi, *The Qur'an* [exposition, The British Library, Londres] (London, 1976), 40, n° 48 et pl. VI; *L'Islam dans les collections nationales* [exposition, Grand Palais, Paris] (Paris, 1977), 118, n° 212 et fig; Déroche, *Catalogue*, I/2, 31-2, pl. XIV b (cf. *FIMMOD*, n. 102).

⁷² P. Orsatti "Le manuscrit islamique: caractéristiques matérielles et typologie", *Ancient and Medieval Book Materials and Techniques*, M. Maniaci and P. Munafò, ed. (Vatican, 1993), II, 297.

⁷³ *ibid.*, 297-298. Nous avons esquissé une remarque dans ce sens (Déroche, *Catalogue*, I/2, 14). Il existe sur ce point une convergence avec les manuscrits hébraïques espagnols: selon Beit-Arié (*Hebrew Codicology*, 43), 8 manuscrits copiés entre 1197 et 1300, essentiellement à Tolède, sont formés de ternions.

⁷⁴ MSS Arabe 386, 388, 395, 423, 5935; Smith-Lesouëf 194 et 202.

⁷⁵ Vat. arab. 310 et Barb. or. 46, et les Corans Vat. arab. 210, 211, 212, 213, 215 et Borg. arab. 51; voir P. Orsatti *loc. cit.*

sont mêlés à des binions; les uns et les autres ont un côté poil pour côté de première (cf. fig. 7).⁷⁶ Le MS Arabe 5935 présente les mêmes caractéristiques;⁷⁷ il est beaucoup plus régulier que le manuscrit précédent puisque la seule anomalie est constituée par le cahier final, un quinion où la séquence des côtés du parchemin se conforme toutefois à la règle de Gregory. Cette particularité ne paraît pas être le fruit d'une innovation tardive: comme le montre le MS Vatican, BAV Vat. arab. 310, elle est attestée dès le IV^e/X^e s.⁷⁸

Les quinions de deux autres manuscrits de la collection parisienne, Arabe 6090⁷⁹ et 6499⁸⁰, tous deux copiés en Andalousie, respectent dans l'ensemble cette règle et présentent en majorité des doubles pages où se font face des côtés de même nature. Cela n'implique pourtant pas que les cahiers aient été obtenus par pliage comme ces cahiers des manuscrits occidentaux que nous évoquions au début. Les "incidents" — par exemple pour les deux premiers bifeuillets du cahier I du MS Arabe 6090, ou encore au début du cahier XIII (ff. 130-132) du MS Arabe 6499 — le laissent penser. Cela nous paraît confirmé par le caractère hétéroclite des bifeuillets entrant dans la composition d'un même cahier: nous avions signalé plus haut que des racines des poils subsistaient sur un certain nombre des feuillets de deux manuscrits de Paris — BN Arabe 5935 et 6090; la répartition erratique de ces feuillets et l'impossibilité de trouver deux bifeuillets provenant de la même peau nous confirment dans l'idée que le parchemin était pré-découpé et que les morceaux obtenus étaient empilés pour former les cahiers, sans égard pour leur origine.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Déroche, *Catalogue*, I/2, 32-3, n° 298. La séquence des recto est d'ordinaire p/c, c/p, p/c; mais elle est p/c, p/c, c/p dans le cahier IV. En ce qui concerne les binions, l'un d'eux est irrégulier (XIII) alors que les trois autres sont réguliers.

⁷⁷ Voir n. 28.

⁷⁸ Tisserant, *Specimina*, xxxvii et pl. 51a; G. Levi della Vida, *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Studi e testi [Vatican], LXVII (1935), 26; P. Orsatti, "Manuscrit islamique", 294, 298.

⁷⁹ Voir n. 24.

⁸⁰ Voir ci-dessous.

⁸¹ Il est regrettable que les manuscrits sur parchemin de Kairouan — et plus particulièrement ceux à caractère juridique — n'aient pas fait l'objet d'une étude codicologique; celle-ci permettrait peut-être de mettre en lumière des particularités régionales. En ce qui concerne l'emploi du parchemin au Maghreb, on complètera ce qui vient d'être dit par les quelques indications

La confection des cahiers: solutions mixtes

Plusieurs éléments concourent à suggérer que les qualités de résistance du parchemin étaient fort appréciées. Quand le papier commença à concurrencer fortement le parchemin, deux attitudes se firent jour chez ceux des copistes — ou des commanditaires — qui souhaitaient garantir la durabilité des manuscrits. La première fut de sélectionner les textes auxquels on réservait l'emploi d'un matériau subjectile devenu comparativement plus cher: ce fut le plus souvent le Coran à qui échu ce privilège. Une autre approche consistait à associer papier et parchemin de manière à conserver la résistance du second là où elle était le plus utile et de tirer avantage du prix plus bas du papier en l'employant là où il était moins exposé. Ainsi apparurent les cahiers *mixtes* composés de papier et de parchemin, ce dernier étant placé à l'extérieur (et éventuellement au centre) du cahier (cf. fig. 9), tandis que le papier occupait l'espace intermédiaire.

Avant d'étudier deux manuscrits où le papier et le parchemin sont utilisés conjointement, signalons une technique dont nous n'avons à ce jour recensé qu'un unique exemple dans le domaine des manuscrits islamiques — mais que des manuscrits copiés sur papyrus attestent antérieurement à l'apparition de l'Islam.⁸² On sait que le fil de couture passe dans le pli du bifeuillet central de chaque cahier; à la suite des efforts qui s'exercent sur le manuscrit lorsqu'il est consulté, ce fil peut couper le papier, avec comme conséquence ultime la dispersion des feuillets. Dans le manuscrit Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Spr. 517, au lieu d'employer tout un bifeuillet central de parchemin pour prévenir cette déchirure, le relieur a piqué à chacun de ses passages dans le pli de fond des cahiers un petit morceau rectangulaire de parchemin dont la longueur est légèrement supérieure à l'espace qui sépare les deux points par lesquels passe le fil;⁸³ l'interposition de ce *préservateur* devait éviter tout accident.

Les cahiers mixtes que nous évoquions offrent un autre témoignage sur la façon dont les artisans du livre ont envisagé

d'améliorer la durabilité des manuscrits tout en intégrant à leur fabrication le papier qui permettait d'en abaisser le prix:⁸⁴ le MS Paris, BN Arabe 6499, qui fut copié en Andalousie — peut-être à Séville — en 562/1166 par le grammairien 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Kharūf nous fournit un exemple remarquable.⁸⁵ Il s'agit en effet de la plus ancienne attestation de l'association du papier et du parchemin, la résistance de ce dernier venant protéger le premier, jugé plus fragile. Cette quête de la solidité est poursuivie dans deux directions: les trois premiers cahiers du manuscrit (ff. 1–25), de même que les trois derniers (ff. 130–165), sont intégralement composés de parchemin parce qu'ils se situent aux points les plus exposés du livre. Les autres cahiers sont formés d'un bifeuillet de parchemin à l'extérieur; puis viennent de trois à quatre bifeuillets de papier que recouvre un dernier bifeuillet de parchemin qui occupera donc la position centrale. Ainsi les cahiers placés entre les ff. 26 et 129 bénéficient-ils d'une double protection, celle que leur offrent les cahiers de parchemin des ff. 1 à 25 et 130 à 165 d'une part, et de l'autre celle que leur assurent les deux bifeuillets qui enserrant le bloc des feuillets de papier.⁸⁶

Un autre manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale associe également parchemin et papier; il s'agit du MS Paris, BN Arabe 2547, un recueil d'opuscules d'astronomie copié pour l'essentiel en 980/1572–3 à Damas.⁸⁷ Au XIX^e s., le manuscrit fut pourvu d'une reliure occidentale au chiffre de Louis-Philippe. Les cahiers sont principalement des quinions; cinq d'entre eux comportent des feuillets de parchemin, mêlés à des feuillets de papier parfois teints. Le premier de ces cahiers (XII, ff. 92 à 99) est irrégulier et

⁸⁴ Comme nous le soulignons en n. 59, nous ne disposons malheureusement pas d'éléments pour apprécier les coûts de fabrication des manuscrits; on aimerait en particulier connaître l'incidence de l'utilisation du papier — et si elle fut significative ou marginale — sur ces prix.

⁸⁵ Cf. Humbert, *FIMMOD*, n° 65, et "Remarques sur les éditions du *Kitāb* de Sibawayhi et leur base manuscrite", K. Versteegh et M. G. Carter éd., *Studies in the History of Arabic Grammar*, II (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1990), 185. Pour les manuscrits hébraïques, la plus ancienne attestation de ce type de cahier date de 1212; cette façon de faire se rencontre principalement dans la péninsule ibérique, en Italie et dans l'empire byzantin (Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology*, 37–9).

⁸⁶ Il existe des irrégularités vers la fin: le 11^e cahier (ff. 106–115) est intégralement en parchemin; le 12^e comprend deux bifeuillets de parchemin en position centrale (ff. 121–124).

⁸⁷ W. de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes* (Paris, 1883–5), 457–8. Certains opuscules sont légèrement plus anciens: *muḥarrar* 977/juin-juillet 1569 (f. 183); *shawwāl* 979/février-mars 1572 (f. 12).

de M. al-Manūnī, "Taḥniyyāt i'dād al-makhtūt al-maghribī", *Le manuscrit arabe et la codicologie*, A. C. Binebine éd. (Rabat, 1994) 20–21.

⁸² Reed signale fugitivement cette utilisation (*Ancient Skins*, 5); on en trouvera un exemple dans V. Scheil, *Deux traités de Philon*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire, IX/2 (Paris, 1893), 7.

⁸³ W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis des arabischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1887–99), II, 249, n° 1557.

incomplet; il inclut deux feuillets dépareillés de parchemin (ff. 97 et 99), placés dans la seconde moitié du cahier dans une position identique, le côté poil étant le recto. Le deuxième cahier (XIII, ff. 100 à 115; voir fig. 10) comporte quatre feuillets de parchemin (ff. 104, 106, 109 et 111): il s'agit de deux bifeuillets disposés de manière différente (le côté poil est le recto du f. 104 alors que pour le f. 106, c'est le côté chair). Le troisième cahier (XV, ff. 128 à 134; voir fig. 10) est mutilé: il inclut trois feuillets de parchemin dont le premier est dépareillé (f. 128; recto: côté poil) alors que les deux autres constituent le bifeuillet "central" (ff. 133–134) dont le premier recto est le côté chair. Le quatrième cahier (XXI, ff. 187–196; voir fig. 10) est régulier: le bifeuillet extérieur est en parchemin, avec le côté poil comme côté de première. Le dernier des cahiers (XXIII, ff. 207–216; voir fig. 10) est intégralement composé de parchemin: la séquence des recto est la suivante:

p/c, p/c, c/p, c/p, p/c + c/p, p/c, p/c, c/p, c/p⁸⁸

Comme on le voit, l'utilisation manque de cohérence: à l'exception des cahiers XXI et peut-être XV (dans son état originel), le parchemin ne sert pas de protection extérieure et la façon dont il est placé, en dépit de ce qui peut apparaître comme une préférence relative pour le côté poil au recto, semble aléatoire. Le parchemin lui-même est d'une qualité très différente de celle des parchemins anciens qui sont dans l'ensemble plus épais: où a-t-il été fabriqué? est-ce une réutilisation? autant de questions qui restent sans réponse. En tout état de cause, il ne s'agit pas de cahiers mixtes sur le modèle de ceux du MS Arabe 6499, mais d'un mélange. Le manuscrit relève plutôt du domaine des *curiosa* et nous pensons que le copiste a employé le parchemin parce qu'il s'agissait d'une rareté, un peu comme les papiers teints qu'il affectionne, mais en aucun cas parce qu'il souhaitait tirer parti de la meilleure résistance du parchemin. Jusqu'à plus ample informé, le MS BN Arabe 2547 est le codex islamique le plus récent dans lequel du parchemin a été utilisé.

Quelques remarques sur l'utilisation des peaux

Étant donné l'importance que revêt la fabrication des cahiers pour la confection du codex, il était naturel qu'on lui réservât une place importante dans cette étude et la série d'exemples que nous avons proposée illustre diverses modalités de cette opération. Le codicologue ne saurait cependant arrêter là son enquête: l'utilisation du parchemin comporte en effet des particularités qu'il est utile de signaler. Encore une fois, il est prématuré d'espérer établir un catalogue exhaustif et nous nous limiterons à quelques exemples qui pourraient éventuellement autoriser des inférences d'ordre économique. On remarque ainsi que le MS Paris, BN Arabe 6095 incorpore des feuillets qui correspondent au bord naturel du parchemin (par ex. le f. 17), ou d'autres sur lesquels subsistent des poils (par ex. au f. 39v^o); cela paraît indiquer que cette copie a été réalisée à moindres frais. Le MS Arabe 6499 de la même collection, bien que plus soigné, contient un feuillet dont le bord, du côté de la marge de gouttière, est oblique: en dépit d'une volonté affichée de réaliser une belle copie, Ibn Kharūf n'a pu se résoudre à écarter un morceau qui lui donnait presque un bifeuillet complet. Même un manuscrit princier, comme le MS Arabe 6090, contient quelques feuillets où un petit trou placé à l'intérieur de la justification a contraint le copiste à adapter son écriture au support. Dans les Corans du III^e/IX^e s., l'emploi systématique de feuillets dépareillés pour recomposer des bifeuillets, tel que nous l'avons présenté plus haut (cf. également les fig. 3–5), doit fort vraisemblablement être compris comme un effort de rationalisation de l'utilisation des peaux: leur débitage devait produire d'abondantes chutes qu'il était hors de question de jeter.

La réglure sur parchemin

Le parchemin impose également des techniques particulières de réglure — principalement en raison de sa rigidité. Au lieu de la *mistara*, familière à ceux qui s'occupent de manuscrits islamiques plus récents, on a recours à la pointe sèche, à la mine de plomb ou à l'encre. La typologie des réglures serait ici sans intérêt; il est en revanche opportun d'évoquer la façon dont on réglait le parchemin. La pointe sèche permet en principe de régler plusieurs feuillets à la fois — à condition d'appuyer un peu; or

⁸⁸ Voir n. 51.

nous n'avons pas encore trouvé à ce jour d'exemple de cette technique. On savait en revanche régler le parchemin par bifeuillet, c'est à dire à un moment où, le cahier n'étant pas cousu, on pouvait prendre un à un chaque bifeuillet.⁸⁹ Il semble que, dans la pratique commune, la réglure était tracée feuillet par feuillet. C'est ainsi que procédaient les copistes qui employaient l'encre ou la mine de plomb.

Certains des manuscrits en caractère *hijāzī* ont conservé les traces d'une réglure, preuve que dès les origines les copistes étaient conscients des problèmes de mise en page.⁹⁰ Il n'en est dès lors que plus curieux de constater l'écrasante absence de traces de réglure sur la majorité des Corans en écriture abbasside ancienne.⁹¹ La régularité de l'écriture laisse pourtant supposer que les copistes utilisaient un système pour guider les lignes, mais il n'en subsiste aucun vestige.⁹²

⁸⁹ Voir par ex. le MS Istanbul, TIEM, SE 362.

⁹⁰ Voir par ex. les fragments Paris, BN Arabe 328a (voir n. 58) et e (Tisserant, *Specimina*, pl. 41b; Bergsträsser et Pretzl, *Die Geschichte des Korantexts*, fig. 8; Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, 24; Déroche, *Catalogue*, I/1, 61, n° 7).

⁹¹ Deux phénomènes en contradiction avec cette situation prévalente doivent être signalés ici: (1) les manuscrits copiés sur du parchemin teint (c'est en particulier le cas du Coran bleu) présentent les traces d'un système très complet de réglure; (2) les enlumineurs ont souvent laissé subsister la réglure préparatoire des décors sur des manuscrits qui n'en ont pas par ailleurs.

⁹² Selon E. Whelan ("Writing the Word of God: Some Early Qur'an Manuscripts and Their Milieux, Part I", *Ars Orientalis*, XX (1990), 115), la présence de réglure pour les décors et plus encore les infimes irrégularités de la ligne de base des lettres seraient la preuve qu'il n'y eut jamais de réglure, mais que le copiste se fiait à son coup d'oeil. Cela ne nous paraît pas dirimant: qui dit réglure ne dit pas règle et la ligne tracée sur le parchemin (ou le papier) n'est qu'un guide qui n'empêchera pas la main de bouger peu ou prou par rapport à elle. Il nous semble par ailleurs qu'une comparaison entre les techniques de l'enlumineur et du copiste n'est pas pertinente pour trancher la question.

RÉEMPLOIS

Nous avons cité plus haut le traité de *hisba* publié par Lévi-Provençal: "on ne doit apprêter que du parchemin raclé".⁹³ L'éditeur commente ainsi cette recommandation d'Ibn 'Abdūn: "il semble s'agir ici aussi aussi bien du parchemin neuf que l'on racle avant la vente, que du parchemin déjà couvert d'écriture et que l'on gratte pour qu'il puisse resservir (palimpseste)".⁹⁴ Il n'est pas sûr qu'il s'agisse de palimpseste dans ce cas précis dans la mesure où il paraît superflu de conseiller de gratter l'écriture pour se resservir d'un parchemin usagé. En raison du prix du parchemin, les copistes n'hésitaient pas à réutiliser des feuillets déjà couverts par un texte que l'on savait effacer par lavage ou grattage. La littérature ne manque d'ailleurs pas d'allusions à cette pratique connue de longue date. Pour éliminer des portions plus limitées de texte, des recettes appropriées ont été conservées dans le traité d'Ibn Bādīs.⁹⁵

Indépendamment de ces occurrences littéraires, plusieurs palimpsestes arabes nous ont été conservés qui confirment la réalité de ces pratiques. L'un des plus anciens exemples pourrait être ce fragment coranique récemment mis en vente à Londres.⁹⁶ Si l'on est en droit de douter de l'attribution chronologique très haute qui a été avancée, il paraît néanmoins vraisemblable que ce feuillet a été utilisé au cours du I^{er}/VII^e s. On lui connaît d'ailleurs un parallèle découvert au Yémen et signalé par l'équipe allemande chargée de la restauration des manuscrits coraniques de San'a'.⁹⁷ On ne se contentait pas de réutiliser le parchemin dans le cadre d'une tradition manuscrite donnée: à côté de textes arabes musulmans superposés à des textes de même provenance, mais plus anciens, comme dans les exemples précédents, il existe des palimpsestes où des textes dans d'autres langues sont recouverts

⁹³ *Documents arabes*, 59 (texte arabe) = *Séville musulmane*, 133, n° 219 (traduction).

⁹⁴ *Séville musulmane*, 160, note a, où il renvoie à R. Dozy qui a longuement commenté l'expression *raqq mabshūr*, qu'il rapproche de *tirs makshūt*, dans le sens de palimpseste (*Lettre à M. Fleischer contenant des remarques critiques et explicatives sur le texte d'al-Makkari* [Leiden, 1871], 78-81).

⁹⁵ Levey, *Medieval Arabic Bookmaking*, 36-7.

⁹⁶ Sotheby's, vente du 22 octobre 1992, lot n° 551.

⁹⁷ G.-R. Puin, *Masāhif San'a'* [exposition, Dār al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya, Kuwait] (Kuwait, 1985), 14 et n° 6.

par de l'arabe.⁹⁸ Le cas inverse se présente également: sur les palimpsestes Lewis-Mingana, des textes chrétiens en arabe qui dateraient du X^e, voire du IX^e s., recouvrent une page de la Septante en grec, des fragments en syriaque et trois passages coraniques en caractères *hiǧāzī*.⁹⁹ Le laps de temps qui s'écoulait entre la copie des deux textes successifs n'était pas nécessairement très long: le copiste pouvait en effet utiliser cette procédure pour rectifier un texte après s'être avisé qu'il avait fait une erreur.¹⁰⁰

Pour être le plus connu, le réemploi que nous venons de décrire n'est pas le seul que l'on puisse rencontrer. L'étude des reliures anciennes montre que les relieurs réutilisaient volontiers de vieux parchemins. Dans le cas des reliures à ais de bois, il leur arrivait fréquemment, semble-t-il, de coller en guise de doublure de la face intérieure de l'ais un feuillet provenant d'un vieux manuscrit.¹⁰¹ Il n'était pas rare non plus que l'on débitât les feuillets en bandes pour renforcer les dos des blocs de cahiers¹⁰² ou encore pour servir d'*âme* à l'emboîtement caractéristique des reliures coraniques anciennes.¹⁰³ Un feuillet de parchemin pouvait également être converti en reliure, si ses dimensions le permettaient.¹⁰⁴ Il serait cependant erroné de cantonner les relieurs dans un rôle de récupérateurs de parchemin usagé: sans jamais spécifier s'il s'agit ou non de parchemin neuf, Bakr al-Ishbili mentionne à plusieurs reprises ce matériau dans son traité

de reliure, le *Kitāb al-Taysīr fī sinā'at al-tasfīr*, et l'on peut supposer que ses propos concernent également le parchemin neuf.¹⁰⁵ On y retrouve les emplois que nous avons pu constater sur des reliures anciennes, comme la doublure,¹⁰⁶ ou encore l'emploi de bandes de parchemin à la jonction entre l'ais de bois et le bloc des cahiers.¹⁰⁷ On notera l'existence d'un type de couverture appelé *shidq* qui consiste à coller sur un morceau de cuir deux à trois feuilles de papier, puis du parchemin: on obtient ainsi une sorte de cartonnage.¹⁰⁸ Signalons enfin que l'auteur recommande l'emploi d'une colle particulière pour le parchemin.¹⁰⁹

CONCLUSION

Si, comme on l'a vu, l'étendue des connaissances techniques des parcheminiers arabes peut faire l'objet de discussions, l'analyse de l'utilisation des peaux dans les manuscrits nous amène sur un terrain plus ferme: elle permet de constater que, parmi les héritiers du codex antique, les Musulmans occupent une place à part. Reprenant peut-être des techniques qui s'étaient antérieurement imposées — au Moyen-Orient? — pour la confection du codex de papyrus, la tradition qui apparaît en position dominante aux III^e–IV^e/IX^e–X^e s. se distingue en effet par des règles originales: prédécoupage systématique des peaux, préférence quasi exclusive pour les quinions, séquence uniforme des côtés du parchemin, reconstitution de "faux bifeuillets" par combinaison de deux feuillets dépareillés. D'autres façons de faire sont cependant connues: les plus anciennes sont pour le moment trop isolées pour autoriser une interprétation; celles qui distinguent l'Occident

⁹⁸ Grohmann en signale deux exemples (*Arabische Paläographie*, I, 109 et n. 6).

⁹⁹ A. Mingana et A. Lewis, *Leaves from Three Ancient Qur'āns Possibly Pre-Uthmānic, with a List of Their Variants* (Cambridge, 1914), p. v-vi.

¹⁰⁰ Voir par ex. H. Loebenstein, *Koranfragmente auf Pergament aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer), Neue Serie, XIV (Vienna, 1982), 24-5 (n° 1 = A Perg. 2). Le fragment coranique cité plus haut correspond peut-être à une démarche similaire.

¹⁰¹ G. Marçais et L. Poinsot, *Objets kairouanais, IX^e au XIII^e siècle, reliures, verreries, cuivres et bronzes, bijoux, fassé*, 1 (Tunis, 1948), 16, 65-7, etc. ...; F. Déroche, "Quelques reliures médiévales de provenance damasquine", *REI*, LIV (1986), 89.

¹⁰² On doit distinguer cette utilisation de celle des préservateurs que nous avons évoqués précédemment.

¹⁰³ Marçais et Poinsot, *Objets kairouanais*, 19 et 72; Déroche, "Quelques reliures médiévales", 89.

¹⁰⁴ La collection des manuscrits de la grande mosquée de Damas nous en a livré un exemple.

¹⁰⁵ Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Ishbili, *Kitāb al-Taysīr fī sinā'at al-tasfīr*, éd. 'Abdallāh Kannūn, *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, VII-VIII (1959-60), 1-42 (texte arabe) et 197-9 (résumé en espagnol); A. Gacek, "Arabic Bookmaking and Terminology as Portrayed by Bakr al-Ishbili in his *Kitāb al-taysīr fī sinā'at al-tasfīr*", *MME*, V (1990-1), 106-113.

¹⁰⁶ al-Ishbili, *al-Taysīr*, 27; Gacek, "Arabic Bookmaking", 107.

¹⁰⁷ al-Ishbili, *al-Taysīr*, 27; Gacek, "Arabic Bookmaking", 109.

¹⁰⁸ al-Ishbili, *al-Taysīr*, 27; Gacek, "Arabic Bookmaking", 109. On pourrait rapprocher cette technique de celle qui est fréquemment utilisée pour les emboîtages (voir plus haut) et qui consiste en un collage de parchemin et de cuir.

¹⁰⁹ al-Ishbili, *al-Taysīr*, 13; Gacek, "Arabic Bookmaking", 107.

musulman soulignent le particularisme de cette région sans qu'il soit possible d'en expliquer la cause.

La chronologie de l'emploi du parchemin dans les manuscrits islamiques commence à se laisser cerner plus précisément. La date de 980/1572-3 — celle du MS BN Arabe 2547 — peut difficilement être considérée comme un réel *terminus ad quem* pour l'emploi du parchemin dans les manuscrits islamiques. Ce matériau est utilisé dès le I^{er}/VII^e s., dans des proportions qu'il est impossible de fixer par rapport au papyrus; bien qu'aucun manuscrit sûrement daté et localisé ne nous ait été conservé pour la période antérieure au III^e/IX^e s.,¹¹⁰ il est permis de penser que, dans toutes les provinces du monde musulman, le parchemin a servi à la fabrication des manuscrits au cours d'un âge d'or qui va des origines jusqu'au IV^e/X^e s. Deux témoins de la fin du III^e/IX^e s. pourraient indiquer, s'ils ont bien été copiés en Iran, que le parchemin était encore en usage dans cette région alors que le papier était en passe de s'imposer sans partage.¹¹¹ Pour la même époque, dans la partie centrale du monde musulman, les vestiges sont plus importants et plus précis, surtout si on les conjugue avec ceux que nous ont laissés d'autres communautés de cette même région — par exemple les manuscrits du Mont Sinaï.¹¹² Au IV^e/X^e s. et au delà, l'emploi du parchemin se restreint progressivement à l'Occident musulman, indépendamment de quelques cas isolés dont la portée exacte ne peut être exactement évaluée à l'heure actuelle. Dans son ultime bastion à l'Ouest, le parchemin continue à être employé dans la fabrication du codex, soit seul, soit en association avec le papier, jusqu'au VIII^e/XIV^e s., et même jusqu'au IX^e/XV^e s.

¹¹⁰ Pour les manuscrits anciens datés, on peut se reporter à: K. 'Awwād, *Aqdam al-makhtūṭāt al-'arabiyya fi maktabāt al-'ilām al-makṭūba mundhu ṣadr al-islām hattā sanat 500h* (1106m) (Baghdad, 1982); G. Endress, "Handschriftenkunde", *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie*, W. Fischer éd., I (Wiesbaden, 1982), 281; et F. Déroche, "Les manuscrits arabes datés du III^e/IX^e s.", *REI*, LV-LVII (1987-9), 343-79.

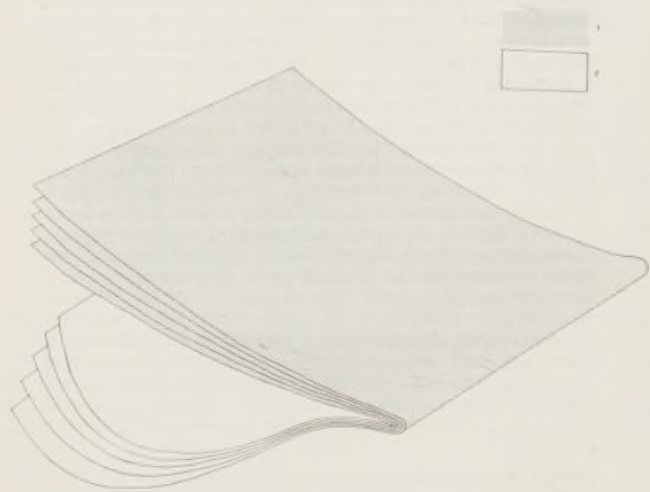
¹¹¹ MSS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 1417 (A. J. Arberry, *The Koran Illuminated, a Handlist of Korans in the Chester Beatty Library* [Dublin, 1967], n° 260; D. James, *Qur'āns and Bindings from the Chester Beatty Library, a Facsimile Exhibition* [London, 1980], 26) et Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library, A 1 (Déroche, "Collections de manuscrits anciens du Coran à Istanbul", 153-4).

¹¹² Voir par exemple A. S. 'Atiya, *al-Fahāris al-takhliliyya li-makhtūṭāt Ṭūr Sina'* al-'arabiyya, I (Alexandria, 1970); I. E. Meimari, *Katalogos tōn neōn arabikōn cheiographōn tēs Ieras Monēs Agias Aikaterinēs tou Orou Sina* (Athens, 1985).

Une meilleure connaissance de la production des manuscrits sur parchemin — en particulier leur publication systématique dans des recueils de manuscrits datés — devrait permettre d'affiner ce tableau; la confrontation de ces résultats avec les diverses sources textuelles ou encore avec les données de toponymie urbaine¹¹³ nous permettra peut-être d'envisager une géographie historique de l'emploi du parchemin dans le monde islamique.

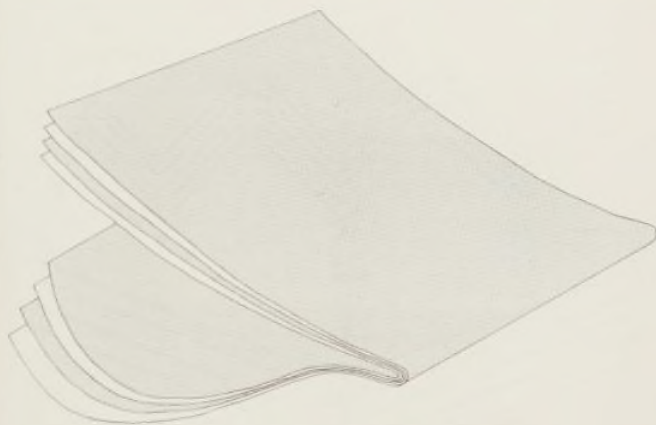
¹¹³ Si, dans les diverses régions du monde musulman, les parcheminiers ont laissé leur trace dans la toponymie urbaine, l'étude de celle-ci permettrait peut-être d'affiner la chronologie et de dresser une carte de l'industrie parcheminnière en Terre d'Islam (voir le "Faubourg des Parcheminiers" à Cordoue: *Le calendrier de Cordoue*, Dozy éd., 166, n. 6).

Fig. 1



Quinon de type classique (III^e/IX^e s.). 1: côté poil; 2: côté chair.

Fig. 2



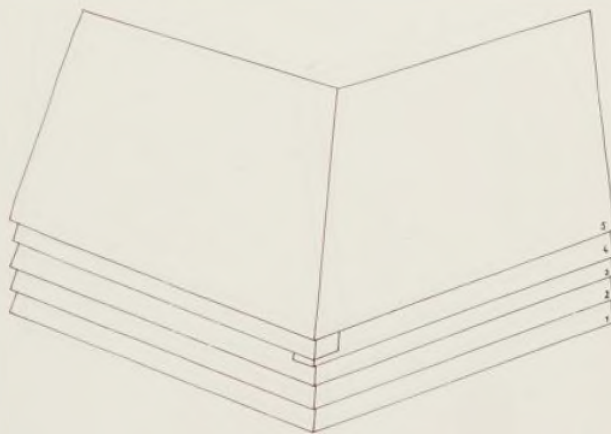
Quaternion de type occidental (voir légende de la fig. 1).

Fig. 3



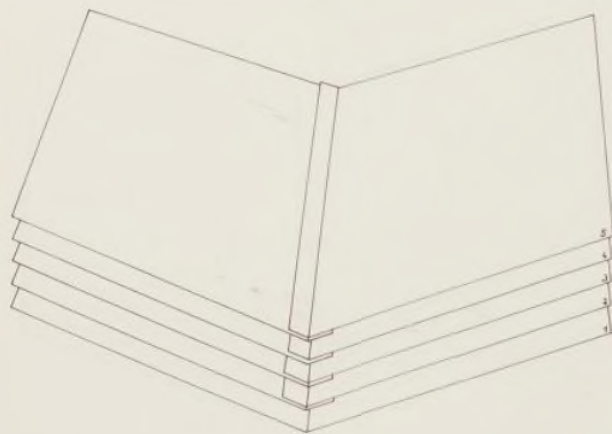
Cahiers II, III et VII du MS Paris, BN Smith-Lesouëf 193. 1: parchemin (le trait fin signale l'emplacement du côté poil). [N.B.: à la suite d'une restauration ancienne — peut-être ottomane, les feuillets dépareillés symétriques ont été collés sur l'un des deux talons de la paire (par ex., ff. 14 et 17) tandis que l'autre était supprimé.]

Fig. 4



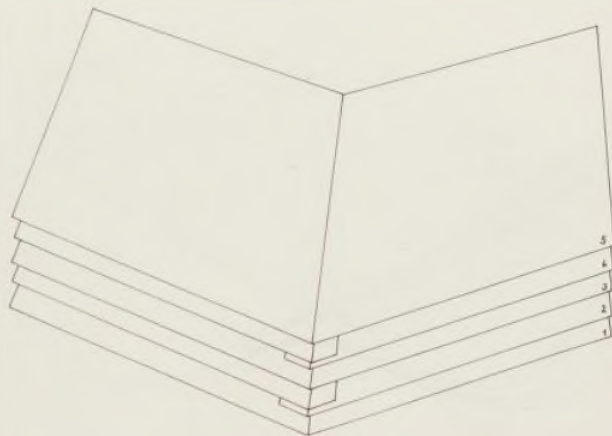
Quinion incorporant deux feuillets dépareillés pourvus d'un talon (ff. 4 et 7) et disposés symétriquement.

Fig. 5



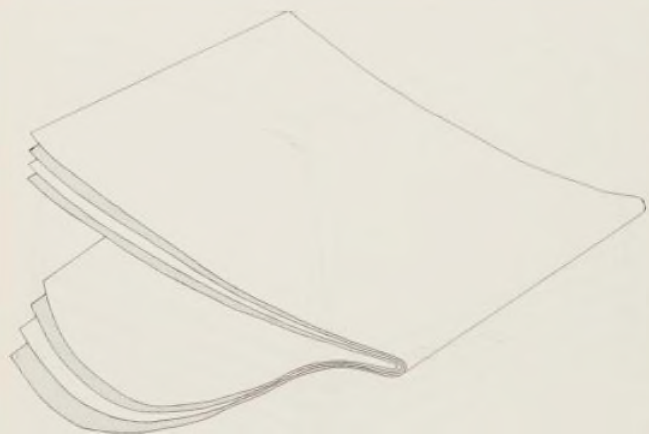
Quion incorporant huit feuillets dépareillés pourvus d'un talon (ff. 2 à 9) et disposés symétriquement.

Fig. 6



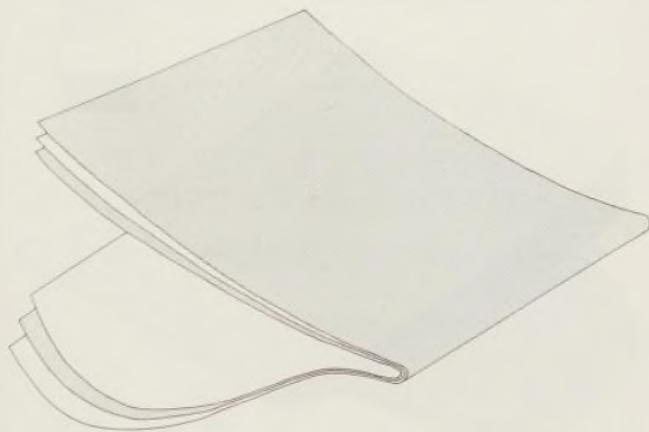
Quion incorporant quatre feuillets dépareillés pourvus d'un talon (ff. 2, 4 7 et 9) et disposés symétriquement.

Fig. 7



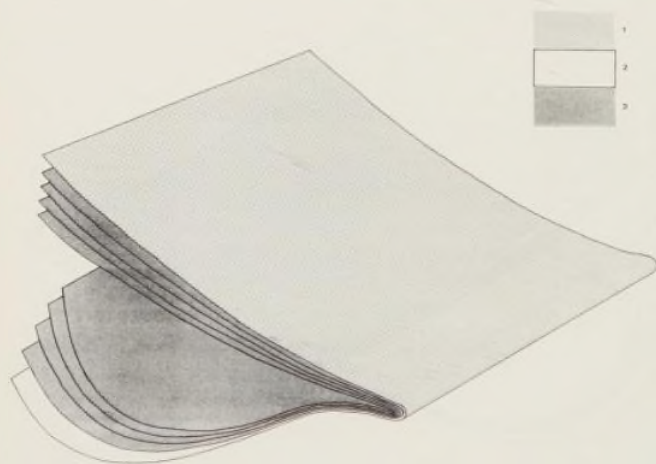
Quaternion dy MS Paris, BN Arabe 328a (fin I^{er}-début II^e/fin VII^e-début VIII^e s.); voir légende de la fig. 1.

Fig. 8



Ternion de type maghrébin; voir légende de la fig. 1

Fig. 9



Quion mixte. 1: côté poil du parchemin; 2: côté chair du parchemin; 3: papier.

Fig. 10



Cahiers XIII, XV, XXI et XXIII du MS Paris, BN Arabe 2547.
1: parchemin (le trait fin signale l'emplacement du côté poil);
2: papier.

TWO NEW SOURCES ON THE ART OF MIXING INK

IBRAHIM CHABBOUH

Despite its brevity, the book *'Umdat al-kuttāb wa-'uddat dhawī al-albāb*,¹ written in all probability for al-Amīr al-Ṣanhājī Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs, is one of the most comprehensive sources for the codicology of Islamic manuscripts. Its unknown author gives a concise and balanced account of the selection of suitable pens and the ways in which they should be trimmed in preparation for writing particular scripts. He also describes inkwells and their accessories, the preparation of different types of black and coloured ink, the mixing of dyes, writing in gold, erasing, gilding, silvering and polishing, the manufacturing, glazing and ageing of paper, and the materials and tools of bookbinding.

This unique early source has had a considerable and lengthy influence on codicological literature, as is clearly shown by the presence of copies of the work in centres of Islamic culture from Rampur in India to Fez in Morocco. A direct echo of this book was heard a century and a half later, in the work of the Yemeni king Yūsuf b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Rasūl (694/1294), *al-*

¹ *'Umdat al-kuttāb wa-'uddat dhawī al-albāb*, ed. 'Abd al-Sattār al-Halwājī and 'Alī 'Abd al-Muḥsin Zakī, *Majallat Ma'had al-Makhtūtāt al-'Arabiyya* [Cairo], XVII (1391/1971), 45-172. See also C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur (GAL)*, 1st ed, I (Weimar, 1898), 268, 525, and Supplement, I (Leiden, 1937), 473, 963; 'Uthmān al-Ka'āk, "Sinā'at al-kutub fī al-Qayrawān", *Majallat al-Mabāḥith* [Tunis], XXV (1946), 13 (introducing an old copy discovered in Qayrawān). The Bibliothèque Nationale in Tunis has a good recent copy (no. 3634; see Ibrahim Chabbouh, *al-Makhtūt* [Tunis, 1989], 48). The *'Umda* has also been translated by Martin Levey in his *Medieval Arabic Bookmaking and Its Relation to Early Chemistry and Pharmacology*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, LIII/4 (Philadelphia, 1962); see also M. Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda, *Les encres noires au moyen âge jusqu'à 1600* (Paris, 1983), 123ff.

Mukhtara' fī funūn min al-ṣun',² in which he reproduces the first ten chapters of the earlier work almost exactly, although with a degree of selectivity.

Early scholars divided the subject of codicology into four main areas: paper, ink, pens (or, sometimes, scripts) and binding. Each of these became associated with a particular guild, with the various practitioners of each differing in their scholarly credentials and social status. These guilds were usually mutually exclusive, which militated against a comprehensive and unified study of their various crafts until the appearance of the *'Umda*.

Our information about these four different areas is far from equal. This is because those who have been qualified enough to write with discernment about the experience of past generations in this art have been concerned first and foremost with penmanship and calligraphy.³ For this reason, this field has been studied in rich detail and its development, rules and famous practitioners have been fully documented.

The aesthetic principles of calligraphy are without limit, since they belong to the realm of creativity, sense and aesthetics. As for the remaining three main categories, i.e. paper, ink and binding, the extant literature does not do justice to the skills involved in transmitting the huge amount of Islamic scholarship which has come down to us. We scarcely know anything about early paper-making, save a few disjointed descriptions which help us little in our understanding of how the many different types of paper used in Islamic manuscripts were made, not to mention the differences in the ingredients of various papers and the techniques used for their immersion,

² I have used a photographed copy of the Ambrosiana MS and also examined a good published edition of the work by Muhammad 'Isā Sālihiyya (Kuwait, 1989). There is another copy, not used for this edition, in the Asāfiya Library, India (MS no. 221), considered by 'Awwād to be of anonymous authorship (see K. Awwād, "al-Khatt al-'arabī fī āthār al-dārisin qadīman wa hadīthan", *al-Mawrid* [Baghdad], XV [November 1986], 393).

³ This is also the way in which the subject is treated in *'Umdat al-kuttāb*. See also al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* (Cairo, 1331-8/1913-18), II, 463, where, instead of the category of binding, the author refers to "competence in the writers' craft." "Ink", he says, "is one of the four foundations of writing, for, as they say:

A quarter of writing is in the blackness of the ink,
and a quarter is competence in the writers' craft

A quarter is in the fine trimming of the pen,
and on [the quality of] the paper rests the fourth of these."

glazing, colouring and the reduction of their acid content. Nor can we identify examples of the old and not so old papers referred to by specific names from the time of Ibn al-Nadīm⁴ until that of al-Qalqashandī.⁵ For example, the author of the *'Umda* gives a description of the manufacture of a paper which he names after the governor of Khurāsān Talha b. Tāhīr (207-213/822-828), which is made of good-quality white hemp. He also describes a paper which is made of old straw, and mentions the procedure for its immersion and ageing.⁶

By contrast, we find that the art of binding has been studied in a more useful and integrated fashion, despite a certain paucity of material. This art effectively completes the effort made by the writer by containing his ideas physically between the covers of a book. It requires a knowledge of the correct use of particular materials such as leather, silk, wood, cardboard, thread and glue. The author of the *'Umda* lists the technical and personal qualities which should be combined in a practitioner of this art as "quick wittedness, sharp-sightedness, a light touch, a lack of hastiness, attention to detail, a good sitting posture, an amiable mien and good moral character."⁷ (We refer particularly to the twelfth chapter of the *'Umda*,⁸ which may be considered the oldest complete and clear text to list and describe the tools of the bookbinder. It also explains the method of binding, the selection and preparation of types of leather, and how to clean, stretch and strengthen them.)

One of most important later works devoted to the art of binding is that entitled *Kitāb al-Taysīr fī ṣinā'at al-tasfīr* by the jurist Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Ishbīlī (d. 628/1231), which he wrote at the request of the caliph Ya'qūb b. Manṣūr.⁹ This work is the most accurate, comprehensive and descriptive study of the art of

⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1871-2), 21.

⁵ Al-Qalqashandī ranks the paper available in his time by quality: the best was Baghdādī, followed by Hamawī, Shāmī, Misrī (available in two sizes, Mansūrī and "ordinary") and, lastly, the paper of "the people of the West and the Europeans (*firanjia*)" (*Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, II, 476-7). This text, despite its brevity, is of great importance.

⁶ *'Umdat al-kuttāb*, 147-9.

⁷ *ibid.*, 157.

⁸ *ibid.*, 153ff.

⁹ Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Ishbīlī, *Kitāb al-Taysīr fī ṣinā'at al-tasfīr*, ed. 'Abdallāh Kannūn, *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, VII-VIII (1959-60), 1-42 (Arabic text), 197-9 (summary in Spanish); see also Muḥammad al-Manūnī, *Tārīkh al-wirāqa al-maghribiyya* (Rabat, 1991), 29.

binding in Almohad Morocco and Andalusia. Apart from this work, there is also the treatise by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sufyānī, written in 1029/1620, on the art of bookbinding and the dissolving of gold.¹⁰

Early historical examples of bindings provide us with information about their salient artistic and technical features, successive studies of which have enabled us to distinguish the characteristics, styles and preferred materials of the main schools. Of these, particular mention should be made of the work of Sarre, Gratzl, Poinssot and Marçais.¹¹

The wealth of artistic features in the preparation of Islamic manuscripts after the 5th/11th century is reflected in the great variety of colours with which copyists, illuminators and gilders adorned their work. The experiments of the inkmakers (*habbārūn*) soon went beyond their limited beginnings as their expertise came to encompass the blending of various shades of colours. Nor was the blending of a coloured ink confined to a single recorded experiment; rather we find different ways of arriving at the same colour being recorded in widely separated parts of the Muslim world, each arrived at using the substances available in that particular region.

Of these inkmakers, who occupied an important position in the world of bookmaking, some were also scholars. These would record the experiments with which they had become acquainted in books and in the manuals which were written to teach prospective secretaries in government service the essential features of their art. Examples of these are the works of Abū Bakr al-Ṣulī, Qudāma b. Ja'far, Ibn Durustawayh, al-Nuwayrī and al-Qalqashandī. Only occasionally, as far as I know, were these arts treated comprehensively chapter by chapter, as was the case in *'Umdat al-kuttāb*.

In view of this, I wish to present here two new texts on the preparation of ink. These are of the utmost historical and technical importance, as they offer a new perspective on the early history of the subject and help us to clarify a number of

¹⁰ This was published by Prosper Ricard under the title *Sinā'at tasfīr al-kutub wa-hall al-dhahab* (Paris, 1919), republished by the same publisher in 1925, and translated by Levey as a supplement to his translation of *'Umdat al-kuttāb* (see n.1 above). See also al-Manūnī, *Tārīkh al-wirāqa*, 86.

¹¹ For titles by these authors, see K. Creswell, *A Bibliography of the Architecture, Arts and Crafts of Islam* (Oxford, 1961), index.

obscure points in our understanding of the technical aspects of writing in our manuscript heritage.¹²

AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ'S *AL-AZHĀR FĪ 'AMAL AL-AḤBĀR*

The first text is a unique manuscript entitled *al-Azhār fī 'amal al-aḥbār*, written by a Moroccan called Muḥammad b. Maymūn b. 'Imrān al-Marrākushī al-Himyarī. We know nothing about his life, save what can be gleaned from the work itself to the effect that he wrote the book whilst living in Baghdad in the Mustanşiriyya *madrasa* in 649/1241.¹³ It is an autograph manuscript, written on contemporary paper in a confident hand, observing the Andalusian-Moroccan conventions of letter curvature whilst adopting the Eastern convention of marking the letters *fā'* and *qāf* with one and two dots above each respectively, as well as marking final *bā'*, *tā'*, *fā'* and *kāf* with what resembles a trefoil. However, although the author was able to record and explain his technical experimental work, his knowledge of Arabic is limited. In parts of the text, the meaning is obscure, the grammar is incorrect and the vowelisation erroneous and inconsistent.

In the title and introduction, the author tells us that this work follows on from *Mafāṭīḥ al-asrār fī kashf 'ulūm al-abrār*, of which he tells us in more than one place that he is the author. He also mentions that he is concerned with philosophy (*ḥikma*) and alchemy and the intellectual legacy of Jābir b. Ḥayyān, a number of whose scattered works he claims to have collected in a work entitled *al-Tadābir al-kabīr*.

It is clear from the introduction to *al-Azhār fī 'amal al-aḥbār* that a group of the author's colleagues asked him 'to compose a work on the art and knowledge of ink[making] and the exposition of what may be compounded of the five metallic

¹² See Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda, *Les encres noires*, 124ff, where she states that the first mention of ink in the Muslim world dates from the 3rd/9th century.

¹³ This *madrasa* was founded by the Abbasid caliph al-Mustanşir bi-llāh, on the eastern side of Baghdad beside the Tigris. Building work began in 625/1227 and was completed in 631/1234. Valuable collections of books were deposited there (see Ibn al-Fuṭī, *al-Hawādith al-jāmi'a* [Baghdad, 1932], 53), catering for all the *madhāhib*. The building was completely restored in the present century, starting in 1945.

substances (*ajsād*)¹⁴ and silver and gold dust, the way in which colours may be blended, and their use in combination to make beautiful tints for use in writing." He also speaks more generally of the special significance of ink in giving fixed form to the lessons of human experience, especially the Qur'an and *Ḥadīth* and the histories of past nations, and enabling the preservation of knowledge and genealogies.

The author acknowledges that in this work he has proceeded on the basis of accepting information transmitted from early scholars, and that time has not permitted him to repeat all their experiments in their entirety, save in a few areas in which he has come to be knowledgeable "by means of scientific surmise and cautious consideration."

The introduction to the book concludes with a detailed list of twenty-seven essays (*maqālāt*), each of which is subdivided into chapters (*abwāb*). As this is the most detailed exposition of the art of ink-making, we list the contents as they are given:

- First Essay: On the preparation of liquid black ink (four chapters)
- Second Essay: On the various types of solid (dry) ink, (two chapters)
- Third Essay: On the preparation of inks of different colours (eleven chapters)
- Fourth Essay: On the preparation of liquid compound ink (two chapters)
- Fifth Essay: On the preparation of ordinary dry ink (nine chapters)
- Sixth Essay: On the use of inks of different colours (ten chapters)
- Seventh Essay: On writing substances prepared from gold and silver and the rest of the five metallic substances (four chapters)
- Eighth Essay: On that which is made to resemble gold and silver and the other five metallic substances (four chapters)
- Ninth Essay: On that which is written on gold and silver vessels and on implements made of iron, copper and brass (seven chapters)
- Tenth Essay: On plating with alloys of the seven [*sic*] metallic substances, including the production of the plating alloy from its constituent elements and the removal of extraneous substances from the alloy (five chapters)
- Eleventh Essay: Remarks on how to write on glass (ten chapters)
- Twelfth Essay: On decorating the fingertips with colours, and writing in gold and silver on the palm of the hand (eleven chapters)

¹⁴ The author lists the "five metallic substances" when he mentions the sub-sections of Chapter Seven as: gold, silver, brass, black lead (*usrub*) and white lead (*raṣās*, i.e. pewter and/or tin). For these terms, see also the translation and comments of H. Renaud and G. Colin in their edition of *Tuhfat al-ahbāb fī māhiyyat al-nabāt wa-l-a'shāb* (Paris, 1934), 20, no. 39.

- Thirteenth Essay: On the use of other colours omitted in the varieties which we have discussed so far (ten chapters)
- Fourteenth Essay: On the mixing and blending of the colours mentioned so far and the compounds thus produced (four chapters)
- Fifteenth Essay: On colour variations in writing according to time and place, how to write on water, which is one of the special skills of the most accomplished scribes (nine chapters)
- Sixteenth Essay: On that which disappears (?) entirely whilst the writer writes quickly with it (two chapters)
- Seventeenth Essay: On the writing of secrets and the subtle ways of keeping them from the unworthy (two chapters)
- Eighteenth Essay: On the means at the writer's disposal for erasing with a knife (seven chapters)
- Nineteenth Essay: On making distinctions by rational means, and the distinction between the possible and the impossible concerning that which has been discussed beforehand (seven sections)
- Twentieth Essay: On the method of breaking and resealing seals and how to read the books contained therein and fold them (two chapters)
- Twenty-first Essay: On the moistening of paper [in the manufacturing process] and how to keep flies off it, as well as [the best methods] arrived at through experimentation for polishing and ageing it (five chapters)
- Twenty-second Essay: On how to draw with pens using soot, what the *liqs* for them are like and the *liqs* for drawing and writing before paint is applied (?) (three chapters)
- Twenty-third Essay: A description of the undercoat applied with a pen beneath writing and illumination, as well as the overlay applied to preserve it from the ravages of time (five chapters)
- Twenty-fourth Essay: A description of the paints which can be applied to vessels, and drawing on inkwells, pens and penceases and the like (seven chapters)
- Twenty-fifth Essay: A description of the correct way to work various kinds of iron (five chapters)
- Twenty-sixth Essay: On the tempering of swords, craftsmen's tools and pen-knives, and how to keep them from rusting (six chapters)
- Twenty-seventh Essay: On how to erase all of the other colours and inks hitherto discussed (four chapters).

This table of contents certainly arouses the reader's interest to find out important details about how different types of ink were made, how the colours were blended, and the different ways in which texts were decorated, as well as details about the how paper was made, how pens were prepared, and how decoration was permanently fixed on them. It also promises information on how different colours were composed, how

metals were plated, how iron in its various forms, and how it was kept from rusting, as well as how to remove traces of various colours.

However, of this great work planned by al-Marrākushī in 27 essays and their constituent chapters, only the first six essays and the title of the seventh have survived. Nor is there anything missing from the copy, as might be supposed; rather the author, in a manner which I have never come across before, deliberately stops at that point, indicating both indirectly and explicitly that he was undergoing — as we would say in the language of today — an emotional crisis which prevented him from completing the work. He goes on to say that he thought about completing the work, [but instead] compiled *al-Tadābir al-kabīr* from the works of Jābir b. Ḥayyān, considering this to be a sufficient substitute for, and completion of, the earlier work. However, he recognises that the final work is "closer to the [level of the] scholar than the student" because of the difficulty of its symbolism — in the manner of Jābir — and that it thus needs a commentary to explain it, but he excuses himself from this task on the grounds that life is too short.

So ends the book, but the six surviving essays are rich in themselves, containing one hundred and fourteen recipes for mixing ink, which are, as far as I know, the clearest, most concise and numerous collection extant.

The most distinguishing feature of the book is that it contains recipes for ink attributed to some of the great figures of the Islamic cultural heritage, including those for the inks used by the following scholars and litterateurs: Ṭāṣ b. 'Umar al-Nahwī (d. 149/766), Muslim b. al-Walīd (d. 208/823), Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāhiz (d. 255/968), Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), Bakhtyashū' al-Ṭabīb (d. 256/870), Muslim b. Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī (d. 261/875), 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba (d. 276/889), Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī (d. 313/925), Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥla (238/940), Abū al-Faraj 'Alī b. al-Husayn al-Iṣbahānī (d. 326/967), Abū Ḥayyān 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Tawḥīdī (d. ca. 400/1010), 'Alī b. Hilāl al-Kātib, known as Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 423/1032), 'Alī b. Hibat Allāh b. Mākūla (d. 475/1082) and others. (The author even adds, having described the ink that the *wazīr* Ibn Muḥla used, that it was an Indian recipe, according to what he was told when he was at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa in

Baghdad!) Thus for the first time we come to know about the various types of ink attributed to scholars in the Muslim world.

We may observe that the inks of these scholars have a number of ingredients in common. These are: gallnut,¹⁵ vitriol,¹⁶ gum arabic¹⁷ and fresh water. Some recipes leave out gum arabic, relying on the natural brilliance and permanence of the resultant black compound which needs no additive to make it adhere to paper or parchment. This is the type of ink that was used by Muslim b. al-Walīd, al-Jāhiz and al-Bukhārī.

Despite these inks having these four ingredients in common, there are important differences between them in how they are prepared, the proportions of their ingredients, how they are fire-treated or sun-dried, and how they are pressed and macerated, all of which are quite clearly recorded.

As gallnuts are one of the more or less fixed ingredients on the manufacture of ink, al-Marrākushī gives possible alternatives if they are not available, mentioning decoctions of fresh myrtle, walnut (*jauz*), pomegranate rind, carob and tamarisk, adding that "they are more effective when added to one another, and even more so if all are used in combination, with the overall strength of the mixture depending on the proportions of the various ingredients."

The author mentions the usefulness of soot in the manufacture of compound inks and describes a device for producing it, whilst pointing out that the best soot is derived from sesame oil, walnut (*jawz*), hazelnut, seeds or naphtha. In this way, he clarifies what Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Kātib¹⁸ relates about the production of the powdered ink which he used to

¹⁵ See *Tuhfat al-albāb*, 137, no. 309.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 65, no. 144.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, 132, no. 296.

¹⁸ Known as Abū Ja'far b. al-Dāya al-Baghdādī al-Miṣrī, he exercised a ministerial function in the Tūlūnīd state. He died ca. 340/950 (see al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām* [n. pl., n. d.], I, 258; also al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-a'shā*, II, 464). It is worth noting that efforts to refine ink were concentrated on maximising the smoothness of the ink on the pen in order to make it run more easily. One worthy attempt in this regard, now lost, was made by the fourth Fatimid caliph al-Mu'izz li-Dīn-llāh, who devised a fountain pen that could be turned in any direction without leaking, and would write in the best manner when put to use and then retain the ink when lifted from the book (see al-Qādī al-Nu'mān b. Ḥayyūn, *al-Majālīs wa-l-musāyarāt*, ed. I. Chabbouh et al. [Tunis 1978], 319).

supply during the time of Khumārawayh b. Ahmad b. Tūlūn,¹⁹ and confirms the view of the *wazīr* Ibn Muqla that the best ink was made from naphtha soot.²⁰

It is worth pointing out here that in the first six essays the term used changes from *ḥibr* (first, second and third) to *midād* (fourth, fifth and sixth), although a close reading of the text reveals no difference between the use of the two terms. Al-Marrākushī lists the ingredients of ink (*ḥibr*) as follows: gallnut, vitriol, gum arabic and water, with the possible addition of saffron, musk, Socotra aloes and rosewater (first essay, chapter one). He also describes the contents of white ink as being made up of ceruse, decoction of white gallnut and gum arabic, whilst listing litharge, saffron and gum arabic for red ink. He then describes a compound of *midād* and *ḥibr* (*sic*) as being made up of gallnut, gum arabic, vitriol and water, with the addition of seed soot and a decoction of pomegranate blossom.

This wavering between the two terms begs the question as to whether there is a difference between them. Ahmad al-Maghribī, a scholar of the 11th/17th century, wrote a work entitled *Qaṭf al-azhār fī khaṣā'is al-ma'ādin wa-l-aḥjār*,²¹ in which he differentiates between the ingredients of the two. According to this work, *ḥibr* is what derives its colour from vegetable substances whilst *midād* is what is made from mineral substances.²² However, the editor of al-Maghribī's text has arrived at this through a deduction which I cannot support, for vitriol, which is a mineral, is contained in all types of *ḥibr* whilst gallnut, gum arabic and saffron, which are vegetable substances, are included in most types of *midād*. It appears, then, that this is no more than a lexical confusion between words which had a subtle difference of meaning for the early scholars. For them, the word *ḥibr* derived from the idea of colour. If it was said of someone, for example, that he was *nāṣī'*

¹⁹ Khumārawayh b. Ahmad b. Tūlūn assumed rule of Egypt after his father in 270/883 and died in 282/896 (see al-Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt* [Kitāb al-Wulāt wa-Kitāb al-Qudāt], ed. R. Guest [Leiden and London, 1912], 233).

²⁰ See al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-a'shā*, II, 465.

²¹ See 'Imād 'Abd al-Salām Ma'rūf, "Mulāḥazāt ḥawl makhtūṭat *Qaṭf al-azhār* li-l-Maghribī", *al-Majalla al-Tārīkhīyya al-Maghribīyya* [Tunis], 8th year, XXII-XXIII (1981).

²² See Barwīn Badrī Tawfīq, "Sinā'at al-aḥbār wa-l-liyaq wa-l-asbāgh: fuṣūl min makhtūṭat *Qaṭf al-azhār* li-l-Maghribī", *al-Mawrid* [Baghdad], XII (1983), 252.

al-ḥibr, it meant that he was of a pure colour. Another meaning of *ḥibr* is a mark left on leather; likewise the verb *ḥabbara* can mean "to beautify".

As for the term *midād*, it comes from the idea of it "extending" (*yamuddu*), in the sense of "helping" (*yu'īnu*), the pen, and anything by which something else is extended or helped can be termed *midād*. For example, oil can be termed thus because the lamp is extended or helped by it. Similarly, any writing substance moistening the inkwell pad (*līqa*) can be called *midād*.²³ In the light of this, then, al-Marrākushī has used the two terms interchangeably, with *ḥibr* signifying "ink" in a generic sense and *midād* meaning the same thing by reference to one of the qualities it has.

Al-Marrākushī's work is notable for its coverage of the characteristics of substances used in the manufacture of ink, given the author's practical experience of chemistry. For example, he says of deep black ink with a high vitriol content: "It burns paper because of its high vitriol content, and eats away at the areas which have been written on, cutting right through the paper." Elsewhere he says about gum arabic: "The only benefit of gum arabic in ink is that it protects the script, should it fall into water, from blurring and smudging"; and that "Gum arabic repels vitriol."

As mentioned above, the first six essays deal with ink in all its various aspects. Had the author gone on to discuss the issues which he listed as forthcoming in the remaining essays, such as the plating of metals, the tempering of iron and swords and the removal of stains from clothing, one wonders whether the book would have retained the title of *al-Azhār fī 'amal al-aḥbār*!

AL-QALALŪSĪ'S TUḤAF AL-KHAWĀṢṢ

The second text is rare, and of unusual arrangement, clarity and content. Its author is Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Qudā'i al-Qalalūsī,²⁴ from Estepona in Andalusia. He was born

²³ See al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-a'shā*, II, 460-1.

²⁴ This is how his name is given at the beginning of the manuscript, with two vocalised *lāms*. In his biographical notice on al-Qalalūsī, Ibn al-Khatīb also spells the name with two *lāms*, but does not vocalise them (see Ibn al-Khatīb, *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāta* [Cairo, 1393-7/1973-7], III, 75ff), whereas Brockelmann (*GAL*, 2nd ed [Leiden, 1943-9], II, 336) has "al-Qallūsī", i.e. one *lām* with a *shadda*.

in 607/1210 and died in 707/1307. This author had a particular advantage over his contemporaries in that he entered the field of history by unusual means. He was originally a teacher of Arabic, and was famous for his detailed knowledge of Sibawayhi's manual of grammar, and was also an authority on poetry and prosody. He put this knowledge to use in his composition of didactic poems, in the Andalusian manner, on inheritance (*farā'id*) and prosody, as well as a commentary in the same form on the *Malāḥin* of Ibn Durayd, and another on the book of al-Faṣīḥ.

The work which we shall present here is entitled *Tuḥaf al-khawāṣṣ fī ṭuraf al-khawāṣṣ*,²⁵ which is mentioned by Ibn al-Khaṭīb as follows:²⁶ "The *wazīr* Ibn al-Ḥakīm²⁷ was presented with a curious book about the properties [of substances], the manufacture of ink and the [removal of] stains from clothes (*ṭab' al-thiyāb*)."²⁸

The manuscript, of which we have a photographed copy,²⁹ is written in a mediocre *maghribī* hand, in the Granadan style, with its letter curvature, elongation and contraction. It contains many orthographic errors and interpolations, and the copyist has missed out a few lines. The first half of the work has been affected by damp, rendering some of the manuscript illegible, while parts have been eaten by worms. It was copied in Jumādā I 936 (January 1530). The manuscript is enriched by useful

²⁵ It is clear that the author is fond of assonance in the titles of his works, such as *Zahrat al-zurf wa-zuhrat al-zarf*. In the title under consideration here, the first *khawāṣṣ* in the title is the opposite of "the common people" (*awāmm*), whilst the second denotes a physical and chemical characteristic.

²⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāta*, III, 76.

²⁷ His full name is Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥakīm al-Lakhmī. He was born in Seville and grew up in Ronda, and was descended from the Banū Hajjāj and Banū 'Abbad. He was the secretary of the Sultan of Granada Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr, to whom he had his son Abū 'Abdallāh al-Makhlū' appointed as minister. When his son died, he was granted this post and became known as "the minister twice over" (*dhū al-wizāratayn*). He had good handwriting, held knowledge and scholars in high regard, and was keen on collecting books. He was killed in Granada in 708/1309. For biographical notices, see: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāta*, II, 444ff; Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina* (Hyderabad, 1347-50 [1928-31]), III, 495f; al-Maqqarī, *Azhār al-Riyād* (Cairo, 1358-61/1939-42), II, 340ff.

²⁸ The editor of the *Iḥāta* reads this as *wa-l-tatabbu' al-shābb'*.

²⁹ The manuscript is from the Royal Library in Morocco. I am grateful to Muḥammad al-Manūnī for drawing my attention to it and to Mohamed Bencherifa for providing me with a copy.

marginal notes and formulae, some of which have been obliterated or are illegible due to the poor quality of the handwriting. They appear to have been added in from other, similar works.

In a short introduction, the author says that he has compiled in this work "an exposition of everything that the writer needs to know, and a corpus of material, ignorance of which would damage the reputation of any student." He also mentions, as stated by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, that he has dedicated the work to the illustrious *wazīr* Abū 'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Ḥakīm, and that he has divided the work into three chapters, as follows:

Chapter One: On the prerequisites of scribes, not [normally] appreciated by students

Chapter Two: On matters which are of great benefit but are not easily³⁰ acquired in full

Chapter Three: Miscellaneous points of interest

This terse division gives little or no impression of the wealth of material contained in the work, for the text itself contains discussions of principles, experiments and prescriptions and gives details of the properties of various types of ink, highlighting the best of them. It also examines materials such as gallnut, gum arabic and vitriol, blotting dust, clay teaching-slates, and inks prepared without gallnut.

In order to clarify the contents of the work further, we shall give a preliminary sketch of the contents to show the author's balanced approach in dealing with inks, colours, dyes, and the removal of stains from clothing. (As close examination reveals, all of these are logically connected, although they may not appear so at first.)

Chapter One: On the manufacture of inks, the first of which is black (*akḥal*) [p.2]

Section: On materials used in writing, such as ink which cannot be seen [on the page] until treated [p. 10]

Section: On the containers used for carrying ink, inkpads, ammonia and the clay for teaching-slates [p. 12]

Section: On inks containing no gallnut [p. 14]

³⁰ The text is not clear. I have read this word as *i'tāsa*, as a synonym for *ishṭadda*, *imtana'a* and *iltāṭha*, although it could also be *ihṭāsa*, meaning "to take firmly in hand".

Section: On how to write with gold, silver, tin, brass, copper, iron and tale [p. 23]

Section: On the types of ink used for writing on gold, silver, brass and lead [p. 27]

Chapter Two: On erasing ink from ledgers and books and removing dye from clothes [p. 28]

Section: On drinks and wines [p. 35]

Section: On the whitening of yarn [p. 38]

Section: On the production of dye for linen garments [p. 40]

Section: On the production of dye for silk garments [p. 41]

Third Essay,³¹ containing useful discussions

Section: On the effect and use of verdigris [p. 46]

Section: On the use of whitewash (*bayād al-wajh*) [p. 46]

On the use of red lead (*zarqūn*) [p. 47]

On the use of cinnabar [p. 49]

Section: On the production of dyes for wood, bone and brass [p. 50]

Section: On dyes and colours [p. 53]

Section: On substitutes [p. 54]

Section: On those of these dyes which are used in painting and drawing [p. 54]

A mention of those substances which may be used as a base for mixing, and those combinations which go together [p. 54]

A mention of the procedure for grinding dyes [p. 55]

A section on the limitations of dyes after their being ground [p. 56]

A mention of gilding fluid [p. 56]

The material contained in the first chapter all pertains to inks, which are carefully named. The second chapter contains a great deal of information about the ways in which traces of ink can be removed from ledgers, books and clothes. The third chapter, or essay, as the copyist calls it, describes the ingredients of dyes, the ways in which they should be prepared, those which can or cannot be blended, those which are suitable for paper and parchment, and those which are to be used only on wood and on walls.

This interlinking of subject-matter is a rich source of clarification for many aspects of Islamic culture, whether it be

³¹ The author calls them chapters in his introduction. This change could have been introduced by the copyist.

codicology or any other related art such as painting, patterning, colouring and gilding. Indeed, al-Qalālūsī's work is of unique importance in that scarcely any of its contents have been reproduced from the work of his predecessors or contemporaries who wrote in the field, such as the author of *ʿUmdat al-kuttāb*, or Ibn Maymūn al-Marrākushī, or Ibn Rasūl.

In order to give a clearer idea of the form of al-Qalālūsī's book, we shall quote here a few sample passages from the Royal Library (Morocco) manuscript:

(i) p. 7:

(from Chapter One: On the manufacture of inks ...)

This is the procedure for making ink using gallnut, vitriol and gum arabic as described in this blessed table which sets out the contents of each variety of ink and the proportions of their ingredients, as well as the way in which each one is made, God willing:

Heat-treated

Gallnut: one part
Vitriol: one quarter part
Gum arabic: one part
Water: three parts

Pressed

Gallnut: two parts parts
Gum arabic: one part
Vitriol: one tenth part
Water: two parts

Macerated

Gallnut: two parts
Gum arabic: half part
Vitriol: one quarter part
Water: three parts

Powdered

Gallnut: one part
Gum arabic: one part
Vitriol: half part
Water: one part and a half

These are the combinations for the preparation of each one.

We shall now mention their various potencies and effects. The first thing to know is that if the gallnut content exceeds the stated proportions it will quickly hole the paper in writing. If the gum arabic content exceeds the stated proportions [the pages will stick together and] the book will tear. If the vitriol content is too high it will burn right through and ruin the book.

The most important ingredient of ink is gallnut, after which comes gum arabic and then vitriol. The gum is for binding [? - word unclear in original] [the ink] with its strength, and the vitriol is to allow it to

maintain its strength until it reaches the place where it is needed. The following is a list of the effects of these ingredients and their strengths:

The uses of each type of ink

Heat-treated ink is fit for use only with paper
 Pressed ink is fit for use with paper and parchment
 Macerated ink is particularly suited to parchment
 Powdered ink ... is for immediate use on slates

These then are the main features [of the use] of inks.

(ii) p. 53:

Section: On dyes and colours

There are twelve substances which can be used for dyeing: cinnabar, red lead, *mughra* (russet), white-wash (*bayād al-wajh*), indigo, lapis lazulae (*lāzaward*), lac, verdigris, rust/earth (*'akār*), arsenic, charcoal, and *taranshūl* [?].

These are all the substances which can be used for dyeing. Each colour may be broken down into two, making [a total of] twenty-four.³²

[For example], if cinnabar is ground with whitewash, a pink colour results. The same holds for red lead and *mughra*.

If whitewash is ground with indigo, the result is sky-blue.

If arsenic is ground with indigo, the result is pistachio.

If lac is ground with whitewash, the result is violet.

If saffron is ground with whitewash, the result is *lawbānī* [?].

If *'akār* is ground with whitewash, the result is ...

If arsenic is ground with saffron, the result is the colour of old gold.

If indigo, arsenic and cinnabar are ground together, the result is the colour of wild thyme.

These then are the basic substances and what can be derived from them.

³² This is the number given in the text, although the actual number of combinations listed is only eight. The remainder may have been omitted by the copyist.

(iii) p. 54:

Section: On those of these dyes which are used in painting and drawing

Cinnabar, red lead, *mughra*, lac, *'akār*, whitewash, charcoal, lapis lazulae, and no others. These can be mixed with oil.

(iv) [pp. 54-5]:

A mention of those substances which may be used as a base for mixing, and those combinations which go together

There are four substances which can be used as a base for mixing. If one is not available, another may be used. They are: whitewash, glue, flax water, and acacia pod, which is gum arabic.

Whitewash is used [as a base] when decorating walls and wood.

Glue is used when decorating painted surfaces or wood.

Flax water is a mixing base when decorating paper or painted surfaces.

I have mastered these mixing bases. When glue is put into cinnabar, lac, *'akār* or sapan wood it holds [it] together, as it does with other things.

When gum arabic is put into red lead it always clogs it up and ruins it. It goes with all [other] dyes, and is used to good effect, in quantity, in the colouring of paper.

As for whitewash, when it is put into ... lac, verdigris, sapanwood or *'akār* it completely ruins them, but it does go with other things.

(v) pp. 53-4:

Section on substitutes

If indigo is not available, use charcoal instead, using it for all [cases in which] you would need indigo

Whitewash may be used as a substitute for dyeing paper and decorating walls. If it is not available, use finely ground gypsum instead. When it comes to painting, however, there is no substitute for it.

Pomegranate blossom may be used as a substitute for red lead for paper and parchment. It is of no use, however, in giving colour to paint.

There is no substitute for yellow arsenic.

Red arsenic may be replaced by powdered earth and a little [yellow] arsenic: this can be used instead of it in books and painting.

Mughra may be replaced by ink mixed with cinnabar.

Cinnabar may be replaced by a mixture of red lead and *mughra*.

Lapis lazulae may be replaced by a mixture of antimony (*kuhl al-ithmid*) and dye slag.

'*Akār* may be used instead of lac, if some alum is put into it and it is then left in the sun until it coagulates; it is [particularly] suitable for paper, parchment and painting. Sapanwood may also be used as a substitute for it if it is heated in water until soft — if it protrudes [from the water] immerse it — with the addition of a little alum and gum arabic. This mixture may be used for writing on paper, parchment and also for painting, but if it is used for painting, it is best added to cinnabar.

This is what I wish to present. I believe that all the texts pertaining to codicology should be compiled and arranged chronologically. The technical terms used should be clearly defined, and some of the procedures described should be tested in the laboratory. All of this will then facilitate the writing of the history of Islamic manuscripts, help us to understand the basic materials from which they are constituted, and enable us to proceed with their preservation in the most appropriate manner.

THE USE OF PAPER IN ISLAMIC MANUSCRIPTS AS DOCUMENTED IN CLASSICAL PERSIAN TEXTS

İRAJ AFSHĀR

The most important studies in European languages on the history and manufacture of paper (*kāghaz*)¹ and its use in Islamic manuscripts are those made by von Karabacek, Huart, Babinger, Pedersen, Grohmann, Levey and Sellheim, to which we should add the excellent article in Arabic by Kurkīs 'Awwād.² These have generally been based on Arabic sources, except for the recent research of Porter which has supplied useful information for Western scholars of Persian, particularly in the field of Persian manuscripts in India.³

¹ We have preferred to reproduce the Persian pronunciation of this word instead of the more technically correct *kāghidh*.

² See J. von Karabacek, "Das arabische Papier. Eine historisch-antiquarische Untersuchung", *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyri Erzherzog Rainer*, II-III (Vienna, 1887), 87-178; idem, "Neue Quellen zur Papiergeschichte", *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyri Erzherzog Rainer*, IV (Vienna, 1888), 75-122; Cl. Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'orient musulman* (Paris, 1908), 8-11; F. Babinger, *Zur Geschichte der Papier-erzeugung im osmanischen Reiche* (Berlin, 1931); J. P. E. Pedersen, *Den arabiske bog* (Copenhagen, 1946) [= *The Arabic Book*, tr. G. French, ed. with an introduction by R. Hillenbrand (Princeton, 1984)]; A. Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo, 1952), 49-57; idem, *Arabische Paläographie*, I, *Denkschriften der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, XCIV (1967), 98-105; M. Levey, *Medieval Arabic Bookmaking and Its Relation to Early Chemistry and Pharmacology*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, LII/4 (Philadelphia, 1962); R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, I (Wiesbaden, 1976) and II (Stuttgart, 1987); Kurkīs 'Awwād, "Al-waraq aw al-kāghid", *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī*, XXIII (1948), 409-38.

³ Y. Porter, *Peinture et arts du livre: essai sur la littérature technique indo-persane* (Paris, 1992).

The present article is part of a larger project on the use of paper in Islamic lands based on the study of some forty thousand Arabic and Persian texts in libraries and private collections in Iran and elsewhere over the past forty years. The aim of this article is to draw attention to the importance of references to paper in classical Persian texts in identifying the different types of paper used in Islamic manuscripts.

Terminology

From the time that paper-making became widespread amongst Muslims, starting, as we know, in the city of Samarqand, there were always persons and families in many Islamic cities who were called *Kāghazī*. This *nisba*, as Sam'ānī has explained, was due to their families' present or past involvement in paper-making or dealing. Many such people came from Nishāpūr, Samarqand, Isfahān, Qazvin, Jurjān and Shūshtar, and are mentioned in the histories of the cities concerned. This *nisba* first came into vogue before the beginning of the 6th/12th century, while the latest mention of this name that I have come across in classical Persian texts is of al-Hājj Šālih Kāghazī, a wealthy inhabitant of Shūshtar in the 12th/18th century who is mentioned in 'Abd al-Laṭīf Shūshtarī's *Ta'rīkh-i Shūshtar*.

Amongst Iranian cities we find the names Kāghaz Kunān (formerly Khānāj, renamed in the 8th/14th century) and Kāghazī, near Kāshān. The name Pul-i Kāghazgarān, which was a bridge near Qūhistān, is mentioned by the early 9th/15th century poet, Nizārī Qūhistānī, in his versified travelogue.

Concerning paper itself and its manufacture, we find terms like *kāghaz-bur* (paper-cutter, paper-knife) and *kāghaz-burī* (cutting paper, cutting-machine, guillotine). *Kāghaz-khāna* is the term used by Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī (8th/14th century) in *al-Waqfiyya al-Rashīdiyya* for the paper-making factory of Rab'-i Rashīdī, which he himself founded in Tabriz. Other terms include *kāghaz ḥall kārī* (gilded paper), *kāghaz do pūst kardan* (slicing the paper in two parts by halving its thickness), *kāghaz-sāz* (paper manufacturer), *kāghaz-sāzī* (paper manufacturing), *kāghaz shikastan/burīdan* (paper-cutting), *kāghaz-gar* (a paper-maker or dealer), *kāghaz-gīr* (paper-clip or paperweight), *kāghazī* (a paper-maker, stationer; anything covered with a thin skin).

With regard to the quality of the paper, we find terms such as *kāghaz-i pāzahī* (reddish-yellow paper), *kāghaz-i daftari* (common paper), *kāghaz-i khām* (raw or unrefined paper), and *kāghaz-i kāhī* (strawpaper or newsprint). Similarly, we find terms describing the way the paper has been prepared or the use for which it is intended, such as *kāghaz-i āhār muhra* (glazed paper), *kāghaz-i abrī*, *kāghaz-i barqī* (glossy paper), *kāghaz-i tahrīr* (writing paper), *kāghaz-i charb* (smooth paper), and *kāghaz-i mashq* (exercise or calligraphy paper).

There are also many other uses of the word *kāghaz* in classical texts to describe other uses of paper but, since they do not relate to manuscripts, they need not concern us here.

Methods of paper manufacture

As far as I know, the first literary mention of paper-making occurs in a poem by Manuchīrī Dāmghānī (6th/12th century). In a *qaṣīda* in which the poet wants to describe a snow-covered desert, he likens it to a *kārgāh-i kāghaz-garī* (paper-workshop):

The land from Balkh to Khāvarān has become like the workshop of Samarqand. The doors, roof and walls of that workshop are like those of painters or paper makers.

This simile derives from the fact that wet sheets of paper were hung on walls or spread on the ground to dry, and a spacious area was needed for this purpose.

A *kāghaz-gar* was someone who manufactured paper and, as we have seen, these people were also called *kāghaz-sāz* and *kāghazī* in different centuries. (These terms are to be found in a literary genre known as *shahr āshūb*, a satire on the various social classes of a town.)

Our information about the cities where paper was made is limited. Only hints and allusions are to be found in classical poetry and texts, but they do at least give us the names of those Iranian cities apart from Samarqand where paper was made. The earliest of these sources dates from the early 7th/13th century.

Paper from Samarqand was highly sought after and enjoyed wide renown from the 4th/10th to the 13th/19th centuries. The oldest information that we have about paper-making in this city is found in the geographical work *Hudūd al-'ālam min al-mashriq ilā al-maghrib*, written in 371/981-2, in which we find the

following important reference to this aspect of Samarqand's economic activity:

And from it comes paper which is taken all over the world.⁴

Paper was also made in Isfahān until 70 years ago. We also know from *Mahāsīn-i Isfahān*, written by Māfarrūkhī early in the 8th/14th century and translated into Persian by a scholar of Āveh, that at that time paper was manufactured in Isfahān in the *kāghaz-i Rashīdī* (Rashīdī paper) style. The translator adds:

He wrote the praise of his favours on sheets of Rashīdī paper which he manufactured for his literary works and to revive the books of the great scholars of the past. From the point of view of clarity of sheet, size and format, softness and cleanliness, firmness, evenness and varnishing, paper of such quality does not, and did not, exist in any kingdom after Isfahān.⁵

Isfahānī paper was distributed to every city and was of consistently good quality. One of the good quality papers of this city in the 7th/13th century was *chahār baghal* (large-size paper), which sold for six *Abbāsīs* (a type of coin named after Shāh 'Abbās Safavī) per sheet. Husayn Taḥwīdār, the writer of *Jughrāfiya-i Isfahān*, mentions this with astonishment, saying "However, some prefer the paper of Khānbāligh (Peking) to this paper." This indicates that these two papers were almost similar in quality. Another famous paper of that city was *kāghaz-i fustuqī*, being pistachio-coloured.

As we have seen above, there were workshops for the manufacture of paper mixed with water near the town known as Rab'-i Rashīdī. We have also seen that Rashīd al-Dīn Fadlallāh mentioned this place in the deed of endowment known as *al-Waqfiyya al-Rashīdiyya*. He also mentions the paper of this place in his *Sawānīh al-afkār*, which is a collection of his correspondence with the rulers of his day, and also in the preface to his *Lata'if al-haqā'iq*. The paper made in this city was of large size and of the *Baghdādī* type.

Qazvīn was another centre for the manufacture of paper in Iran. We read in *Tadhkira-i shu'arā-i Kashmīr* that the Sultan of

Kashmir, Zayn al-'Ābidīn (823-75/1420-70), brought some paper-manufacturers from Qazvīn to Kashmir. Thus established, paper replaced *tūz* (a kind of bark) as a writing material, an event which is mentioned by Mullā Nadīmī Kashmīrī in the following verse:

Paper became a booklet and was bound, when time threw away the *tūz* from the book.

Kāghaz Kunān, near Zanjan, was for a short while a renowned centre of paper-making. Hamdallāh Mustawfī mentions in *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (9th/15th century) that the place became known as Kāghaz Kunān because good paper was made there. This town, which was ruined during the period of the Mongols, was, according to the same source and also *Mu'jam al-buldān*, previously known as Khānaj. The new name still survives.

According to Mīhrābī's *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* (10th/16th century), paper mills also existed in Kirmān, near the town's *khandaq* (ditch). We also find references in two 10th/16th century histories of Yazd to the *tāhūna-i kāghaz-garī* (paper-mill) and the *hānūt-i kāghazī* (paper shop) of Faraj-i Yāhūdī. There is still a lane named Kūcha-i Kāghazgarī in the oldest part of the city.

Concerning the manufacture of paper in Khurāsān, the most reliable document is the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm. This tells us that paper was made in Khurāsān from the very beginning of paper-making in Iran and also mentions the names of the types of paper produced. Although for the purposes of this article I have restricted myself to Persian sources, I feel this last point deserves some amplification.

Ibn al-Nadīm mentions six kinds of paper. The names of five of them are connected with Khurāsān and Transoxiana, while the remaining one relates to Egypt. The Egyptian one is known as *kāghaz-i Fir'aunī* ("Fir'awnī paper"). The other five are: Sulaymānī (from Sulaymān b. Rashīd, a minister of financial affairs in Khurāsān), Ja'farī (from Ja'far al-Barmakī), Talhī (from Talha b. Tāhir of the Tāhirīs), Tāhirī (from Tāhir II of the same dynasty, which ruled in Khurāsān) and Nūhī (from Nūh b. Naṣr of the Sāmānids). It is therefore clear that paper was manufactured in Khurāsān, to which we can add that different types of good Khurāsānī paper appear to have been named after high government officials who liked them.

⁴ *Hudūd al-'ālam*, ed. M. Sotude (Tehran, 1340/1961), 107-8.

⁵ Māfarrūkhī, *Mahāsīn-i Isfahān*, tr. into Persian and amplified by Husayn b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ridā' al-Husaynī al-'Alawī, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl (Tehran, 1328/1949).

From these references and other indications that *kāghazī* families lived in Bayhaq and Nishāpūr, and the mention of *Pul-i Kāghazgarān* in the poetry of Nizārī Qūhistānī, as well as the information which Porter derives from the text of *Bāburnāma* regarding papermills in Herat,⁶ we can be sure that paper-making spread over the whole region having first started in Samarqand.

The latest reference we have to paper-making in Khurāsān dates from the period of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh (13th/19th century). This occurs in the census of the area prepared by Zayn al-'Ābidīn from which we learn that one of the local trade associations was the paper-makers' guild.

Our technical information regarding the tools and machinery used in paper manufacture is very limited, being based on a few textual allusions. We know that Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh brought a group of Chinese artisans to his *kāghaz-khāna* in Rab'-i Rashīdī and he wrote down the information he obtained regarding Chinese paper in his *Āthār va-ahyā'*.⁷ Referring to the differences between Chinese and Tabrizī paper, he mentions that in China paper was made from the bark of the mulberry tree and also sometimes from silk, whilst in Iran it was made from rags and cotton.

Fortunately, we have more information about the Safavid period, especially from references in the works of *Sabk-i Hindī* (Indian style) poets who appeared in this era, and who often took inspiration from mundane affairs. Paper featured in their poetic images, such as in Tughrā-i Mashhadī's mention of *qalib-i kāghaz* (paper-making mould):

So many of my love letters to the youth have been rejected that cracks appear in the paper like the cracks of the paper-mould (*qalib-i kāghaz*).

Of the many verses in which paper is mentioned, I shall quote just three couplets by the 10th/16th century poet 'Abdī Bīk Shīrāzī, otherwise known as Navīdī, taken from his *mathnavī Jawhar-i fard*, composed in praise of cotton:

Paper derives its existence from it, as if revelation had descended on it. Indian paper is angry with Chinese paper and has informed

Wāsīt⁸ about Byzantium and Zanzibar. Sometimes it manifests itself from the land of Cathay, and sometimes it brings news from Samarqand.

Muḥammad Shāfi'ī Hamadānī (12th/18th century) conveys similar meanings in his *shahr āshūb*. He mentions the terms *kāghaz-i Khaṭā'i va Kashmīrī* (Chinese and Kashmīrī papers), *ṣaḥḥāf* (bookbinder), *muhra kashīdan* (paper-glazing), *nishasta* (starch) and *āhār dādan* (to starch), all of which are connected to the manufacturing of paper. Hamadānī also refers implicitly to the method of making paper from cotton wool.

The author of *Gulzār-i Kashmīr* (13th/19th century), who supplies information about the manufacture of paper in Kashmir, says that linen rags were first turned into dough with sal ammoniac and that this dough was then cast into a *panjara-i chahār khāna* (frame divided into four parts) and a *dām* (trap), after which the paper was then glazed or smoothed.

During the Safavid period, paper-makers were considered to constitute their own guild, which explains why they are mentioned by most writers of *shahr āshūb*. In the earliest *shahr āshūb*, composed by Mas'ūd Salmān (6th/12th century), there is of course no mention of any *kāghaz-gar* (paper manufacturer) although painters and calligraphers are mentioned. However, Safavid examples of the genre, such as the *shahr āshūbs* by Lisānī Shīrāzī (10th/16th century) and Tāhīr Waḥīd Qazvinī (11th/17th century) include interesting couplets on paper manufacture. The following is an example from the work of Lisānī Shīrāzī:

I shall buy paper to make a garment for seeking justice from you; wearing it, I shall make my petition of complaint.

Fortunately, Tāhīr Waḥīd makes metaphorical mention of the paper mill and workshop in his poetry. He likens the paper-maker to a baker who makes paper sheets instead of bread, and who has water instead of fire in his oven (the word for a baker's oven is *tannūr*, while the place in a paper mill where the water is poured is called a *tannūra*):

As this bread is baked by water instead of fire, the book fills its belly with this bread.

⁶ Porter, *Peinture*, 25.

⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī, *Āthār va-ahyā'*, ed. M. Sotoodeh and I. Afshār (Tehran, 1368/1989).

⁸ A city in Iraq once famous for its reed pens.

The colour of paper

Our information about the colouring and glazing of paper is more complete because of specialised treatises and monographs that exist on the subject.⁹

The oldest Persian work containing references to the dyeing of paper is *Bayān al-ṣinā'āt*, by Ḥubaysh Tiflīsī (d. ca. 600/1203-4),¹⁰ which means that this process is at least eight centuries old. Dawlat Shāh Samarqandī (9th/15th century), in his *Tadhkira*, mentions the art and mastery of Sīmī Nishābūrī, the author of an important treatise on paper-dyeing known as the *Jawhar-i Sīmī* which has recently been edited and published by Porter.¹¹

There was much variety in paper-dyeing, and, although his claim seems exaggerated, Qadī Aḥmad says in *Gulistān-i hunar* that Mawlānā Muḥammad Amīn Jadvalkash ("paper-ruler") "used to colour paper in seventy colours."

To mention all the names of the colours used to describe paper in poetry and prose would make this paper unnecessarily lengthy. The list prepared by Porter¹² is based on *Jawhar-i Sīmī*, *Khushnavisī*, *Majmū'at al-ṣanā'i'* and *Bayān-i Khushbuy*. In the list in my forthcoming monograph on the subject, I have also used *Gulzār-i Kashmīr*, early librarians' or owners' authentications ('ard') of title pages of manuscripts, and *Ganjīna-i Shaykh Ṣafī* (Ardabil catalogue), as well as the technical terms taken from catalogues of the Qājār period. I have also highlighted any differences between my list and that of Porter, such as the two colour terms listed by Porter as *khatā'i* and *zumurrud-i līmū'i*, which are orthographically incorrect: the first should read *ḥinnā'i* and the second *zard-i līmū'i* (lemon-yellow).

Colours used for dyeing paper were either simple or compound. Those which were most in demand were *āl* (reddish-

yellow), *ḥinnā'i* (reddish-orange), *līmū'i* (lemon-green), *fustuqī* (pistachio) and *nukhūdī* (buff). It was generally believed that pure white paper was harmful to the eyes in bright conditions and that coloured paper was more suitable.

In the Ṣafavid period, *āl* and *ḥinnā'i* were the colours used for good quality paper. Lisānī Shīrāzī says about *āl*-coloured paper:

I had rosy *āl* paper in my room, reminding me of flowers and the face of my beloved.

The poets of the period composed many verses in praise of *ḥinnā'i* paper. The following is but one example, from a couplet by Vā'iz Qazvinī in which he compares its colour with that of the hand of the beloved:

Your colour, because of its freshness, is like Chinese satin, and your hand, due to its gentleness, is like *ḥinnā'i* paper.

At this point, one ought to discuss *kāghaz-i abrī* (a kind of thick, glossy paper) and its importance in calligraphy. However, space does not allow in an article of this sort, and a significant amount of research has already been published on this subject, particularly two recent articles in Persian, one by Muḥammad Hasan Simsār in *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i buzurg-i islāmī* and one by Yahyā Zakā' in the journal *Āyandeh*.¹³ We shall therefore confine ourselves here to the brief mention that references to *kāghaz-i abrī* can be found in the poetic works of Kalim Kāshānī, Salīm Tehrānī, Ṣā'ib Tabrizī, Vā'iz Qazvinī and dozens of other poets. The following couplet is typical of such poetic references:

You should know that without you I weep tears in a hundred colours and make the *kāghaz-i abrī* variegated.

References to the technique of polishing paper with a starch glaze go back to the 6th/12th century. One such occurs in *Farrukhnāma-i Jamālī*, written in 580/1184-5 by Jamālī Yazdī, in which the rice-starching method is mentioned.¹⁴ Another is in a verse by Sūzānī Samarqandī (d. 562/1166-7), in which the poet

⁹ There is an introductory article on such works by Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, who has also published some of them. Others have been published by Ahmad Gulehin Ma'āni, Ridā Māyel Heravī, Fikrī Saljūqī, Parvīz Azkā'i and, more recently, Y. Porter.

¹⁰ Ḥubaysh Tiflīsī, *Bayān al-ṣinā'āt*, ed. I. Afshār, *FIZ*, V/4 (Tehran, 1336/1957), 298-457.

¹¹ Y. Porter, "Un traité de Sīmī Neyshāpurī, artiste et polygraphe", *Studia Iranica*, XIV/2 (1985), 179-98. For an English translation of this treatise, see W.M. Thackston, "A Treatise on Calligraphic Arts: a Description of Paper, Colours, Inks and Pens by Sīmī of Nishapur", *Intellectual Studies in Islam*, ed. M.M. Mazzaoui and V.B. Moreen (Salt Lake City, 1990), 219-28.

¹² Porter, *Peinture*, 49-50.

¹³ *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, II (Tehran, 1368), 570-4; Y. Zakā', "Kāghaz-i abrī", *Āyandeh*, XVI (1369), 371-9.

¹⁴ Jamālī Yazdī, *Farrukhnāma-i Jamālī*, ed. I. Afshār (Tehran, 1346/1967).

compares the bright and waterproof feathers of the stork with polished and glazed paper:

He saw the feathers of the stork as polished and glazed paper.

Glazed paper was of good quality and was popular with calligraphers because the pen moved softly over it. The famous calligrapher Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī devoted seven couplets of his famous treatise to the method of glazing paper, which was usually done by hand. In 912/1506, however, Muḥammad Ḥāfiz Iṣfahānī claimed to have invented a device which facilitated this procedure, the only known reference to which is in his *Natijat al-dawla*.¹⁵

Varieties of paper

One of the most significant considerations in the codicology of Islamic manuscripts is the recognition of different types of paper. Catalogue references usually deal only with the paper's colour and thickness, whilst I have been able to glean the names of various types of paper from the texts themselves. Furthermore, latter day cataloguers in many eastern countries have generally named the papers on the basis of resemblance and hearsay, sometimes going against the facts of history. For example, having studied the entries in the Catalogue of the Kitābkhāna-i Milli-i Malik, I can say that Qur'ān no. 15, copied by Yāqūt al-Musta'şimī in 680/1281-2, cannot have been written on Dawlatābādī paper because this type of paper is not mentioned in the sources before the 11th/17th century. The paper of another Qur'ān (no. 44), written in early *naskhī* script, has also been incorrectly classified as Dawlatābādī. Qur'ān no. 46, written in Kufic script, is described as having been written on *tirma-i Khatā'i*, and the term *tirma* is certainly not nine hundred years old. These few examples lead me to believe that in speaking of the types of paper used in manuscripts, relying on the commonly used terms is imprudent.

The only correct criteria by which we can identify types of paper are those instances where librarians or owners of Arabic,

¹⁵ Muḥammad Ḥāfiz Iṣfahānī, *Se risāla dar iktirā'āt-i san'atī: Sā'at, āstā, dastgāh-i rawghan-kashī, "Natijat al-dawla"*, ed. T. Bīnesh (Tehran, 1350/1971).

Persian and Turkish manuscripts have written an '*ard*' (authentication and registration) on the manuscript. These include the title and visible features of the manuscript and generally the type of paper used. If the date of the '*ard*' and the date of the calligraphy are close to each other, it can be assumed that the name of the paper is that which was in vogue at the time of writing. Such terms can be found in certain catalogues for early periods, such as the Ardabīl Catalogue, which was compiled in 1172/1758-9 and has been published under the title *Ganjīna-i Shaykh Ṣafī*.¹⁶ I have counted eleven types of paper mentioned in this work.

Fortunately, an inventory of the *Ganjīna*, apparently prepared around 1307/1889-90, has recently been published by Shahriyār Dīrghām, but this only supplies references to deerskin, *tirmah*, and Khānbālighī and Khatā'i paper. Although a few Qur'āns in both catalogues are almost identical, their specific features are described differently in each. In my monograph I have sought to highlight these differences, as well as listing the terms and types of paper mentioned in the catalogue.

From the point of view of the old sources (including the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm and historical and literary works in Persian), the terms used to describe different types of paper fall into three categories:

Terms that refer to the place where the paper was made: e.g. Iṣfahānī, Baghdādī, Dawlatābādī, Samarqandī, Shāmī and Hindī. Of these, Samarqandī and Shāmī paper are worthy of further mention.

Samarqandī was the most famous kind of paper. We find references to it from the 4th/10th century onwards, the earliest being in *Hudūd al-'ālam*, where the author says that Samarqand is the abode of Manicheans and that paper is produced there and from there taken all over the world.¹⁷ The second earliest source is *Safarnāma-i Naṣīr-i Khusrāw* (d. 481/1088), in which it is mentioned that the people of Tarābulus in Shām (present-day Tripoli in Lebanon) made paper of as good a quality as that of Samarqand or even better. This paper continued to be traded for centuries in Iran. It is mentioned in *Risāla-i mu'arriḥ-i kārvānsarāh-i 'aṣr-i Ṣafavī* ('The Caravanserais of the Ṣafavid

¹⁶ *Ganjīna-i Shaykh Ṣafī* (Ardabīl Catalogue), (Tabriz, 1980).

¹⁷ See n. 4 above.

Period", British Museum MS 9024), in which we are told that people from Samarqand sold paper in Maḥmūd Beikī's caravanserai. The poet of that era, Muḥsin Ta'thīrat, praises the high quality of Samarqandī paper in the following way:

When I write the praise of thy lips the letter becomes a garland.
If the paper is *daftari* [low quality] it becomes Samarqandī.

Persian-speaking poets have talked much about Shāmī paper, especially in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries. For instance, Amīr-i Khusraw Dihlavī mentions it in his *Ghurraṭ al-kamāl*, as well as providing useful information about making paper from silk in 20 couplets in his *Qirān al-sa'dayn*. Another poet of the same period, Sirājī Sagzī, implies in one of his verses that Shāmī paper was white. Similarly, Amīr-i Khusraw compares it with morning:

When your face rose like the morning sun, the colour of my face
turned yellow, like Shāmī paper decorated with saffron water.

Terms that relate to specific persons: e.g. Jayhānī, Sa'dī, Rashīdī, Talhī, 'Ādilshāhī, Maṣṣūrī and Nūhī. Here we shall say a little more on Sa'dī and 'Ādilshāhī paper, both of which were of good quality.

Reference to Sa'dī paper occurs in the *dīwāns* of two poets. One is Sūzanī Samarqandī and the other is 'Abd al-Wāsi' Jabalī of Gharjistān (d. 555/1160). From the mention of Sa'dī paper in the poetry of these two poets, both of whom lived in the same region, it is evident that this type of paper was well-known and highly valued in Khurāsān, and perhaps derived its name from a person of high rank such as Sa'd al-Mulk or Sa'd al-Dīn. Sūzanī says:

I was given two quires of Sa'dī paper by Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad, by order of Khwāja Mu'ayyad.

'Abd al-Wāsi' speaks of this type of paper in the following way:

I have a Zandanījī¹⁸ and paper. Both are good but both have defects: the first is not Bū Ishāqī [cloth], and the second is not Sa'dī.

The famous calligrapher of the Safavid period, Mīr 'Imād Qazvīnī, preferred this type of paper to Dawlatābādī paper, both being from India. He also praised 'Ādilshāhī paper in his *Ādāb al-mashq*:

'Ādilshāhī, having fewer grains, is the best paper.

So excellent is 'Ādilshāhī paper that the artist considers it a thornless flower.

Its value is known to my pen, whose bestowal scatters the most precious pearls.

After that, Dawlatābādī, also called Sulṭānī, is good.

A manuscript whose paper is 'Ādilshāhī according to its '*ard*' is '*Ahdnāma-i Ḥaḍrat-i Amīr*' [i.e. 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb], written for Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, the son of Shārukh (3rd/9th century). In the *ard*, dated 1046 AH (1636-7), the paper is described as *qat' wasa'i-kāghaz-i 'Ādilshāhī* ("Ādilshāhī paper in medium format").

Terms that relate to the ingredients, type of usage, and/or size of the paper: e.g. *abrīshamī*, *chahār baghal*, *tuḡhrā'i* and, perhaps, Maṣṣūrī.

As regards Maṣṣūrī paper, we find paper of such a type mentioned in the *Qabūs-nāma* (5th/11th century) in an anecdote concerning Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī. (We should note here that in some manuscripts Maṣṣūrī paper is referred to as *kāghaz-i Maṣṣūrī* (Maṣṣūrī paper) while in others it is referred to as *kāghaz-i qat'-i Maṣṣūrī* (paper in Maṣṣūrī format).) It is certain that this kind of paper derives its name from either Abū Maṣṣūr 'Amīr (495-524/1101-30) or to Maṣṣūr b. Naṣr 'Abd al-Raḥīm Kāghazī, who was himself a paper-manufacturer. Grohmann also considered *durj-i Maṣṣūrī* (mentioned in Šābī's *Tuḥfat al-umarā'*) to have been named, like Maṣṣūrī paper, after Abū Maṣṣūr 'Amīr.

In a manuscript of *ḥadīth* (Tāj al-Dīn's *Arba'in*, written in the 8th/14th century) which I have seen in the Peking Mosque,

¹⁸ A type of cloak (*khirqā*).

Manšūrī paper is mentioned as a superior paper in that it was used for writing in gold: "Now they write in gold on Manšūrī paper."

We should therefore conclude that there were two kinds of Manšūrī paper in use in Islamic lands, differentiated by format and quality.

Miscellaneous points

The diversity of terms used to describe the quality of paper and its trade and use is amply evident from the references in classical texts.

Amongst the more common terms is *ṭabaq* (leaf), which is seen in texts of prose and poetry from the 6th/12th century onwards. It is mentioned, for example, in *al-Tawassul ilā al-tarassul* by Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad, the secretary of 'Alā' al-Dīn Takīsh Khwārazmshāh, *Mirṣād al-'ibād* by Najm al-Dīn Dāya (d. 654/1256), and *Latā'if al-ḥaqā'iq* by Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī (d. 718/1318). The wording of a remark in the latter work may indicate the size of a *ṭabaq*:

When he wanted to improve the maps, he thought it necessary to increase the size of the paper on which they were drawn ... so he made big sheets of paper, each one being the size of six sheets, and then he drew those maps on them.

The following is a brief list of decorative techniques mentioned in historical and literary texts:

<i>abrī kardan</i>	variegating the paper
<i>afshān kardan</i>	smearing the paper with splashes of gold and silver water or henna
<i>pāk kardan</i>	removing of earlier writing for re-use, removing of stains from paper
<i>tadhīb va tash'ir</i>	illumination
<i>jadwal kashī</i>	ruling and marking out columns
<i>do pūst kardan</i>	slicing the paper by halving its thickness
<i>rang kardan</i>	dyeing
<i>qaṭṭā'ī</i>	cutting
<i>kuluft kardan</i>	thickening
<i>kuhna kardan</i>	ageing
<i>majlis kashī</i>	miniature painting

<i>maṣṭar kashī</i>	making invisible lines for straight writing
<i>muhra kashī</i>	glazing
<i>waṣṣālī</i>	rebinding an old book.

For example, one poet wrote, using the word *maṣṭar*:

One who would prescribe the manners of asceticism should rule
(*maṣṭar zadan*) his body with the design of the rush mat.

Mehrebān Aurangābādī mentions the word *afshān* in the following line:

What is the need to speak of my condition, O messenger?
The letter has been smeared (*afshān*) with the blood of my heart.

Finally, what we know about the trade of paper and its price in different periods can also assist us sometimes in identifying the type of paper used in manuscripts. For example, paper made in Khurasān and Isfahān was often used in India, whilst various types of Indian paper were brought to Iran, and most of these can be identified in Persian manuscripts.

It is my hope that this short article has demonstrated the importance of the Persian literary tradition as a source for the history of paper and the identification of its various types.

EARLY METHODS OF BOOK COMPOSITION:
AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S DRAFT OF THE
KITĀB AL-KHIṬAṬ

AYMAN FU'ĀD SAYYID

Topography, a variety of regional geo-history, was known in many parts of the Islamic world. Introductions to historical accounts of Islamic cities, such as al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Ibn 'Asākir's *Tārīkh Dimashq* and Ibn Shaddād's *al-A'lāq al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarā' al-Shām wa-l-Jazīra*, contained topographical descriptions of these cities. However, this art was especially well developed in Islamic Egypt, where, at the hands of al-Kindī, Ibn Zūlāq, al-Qudā'i, al-Sharīf al-Jawwānī, Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir and Ibn al-Mutawwaj, the art of topography reached the maturity shown in Maqrizī's book, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, which is considered by far the best example of topographical writing.¹

By scholarly consensus this book is the most important about the history of Egypt and the topography of her cities in the Islamic period. It is the only book extant that offers us a full account, from original sources, of the history of Egypt and the foundation and growth of her main cities from the Muslim conquest until the middle of the 9th/15th century. It is also considered indispensable for the study of the archaeology of Islamic Egypt. It provides us with a detailed list and accurate description of palaces, mosques, schools, *khānqāhs*, quarters, districts, houses, baths, tradesmen and shopkeepers' estates, inns, hotels, markets and caravanserais in the capital of Egypt over a

¹ On the subject of topography in general and al-Maqrizī's *Khiṭaṭ*, see Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh 'Inān, *Miṣr al-Islāmiyya wa-tārīkh al-khiṭaṭ al-Miṣriyya* (Cairo, 1931, 1969); J. C. Garcin, "Toponymie et topographie urbaines médiévales à Fustat et au Caire", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XXVII (1984), 113-55; C. Cahen, s.v. "Khitā", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed (Leiden and London, 1960-), V, 23.

period of nine centuries. The list was based in the first place on al-Maqrizī's personal observations, as well as on other sources which have not survived. Al-Maqrizī has thus preserved for us important material by ancient authors which would otherwise have been lost.

The author of this book is the illustrious scholar Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad b. 'Alī 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Maqrizī al-Shāfi'ī (766–845/1364–1442), chief historian of Islamic Egypt and author of extensive works about her history and civilisation such as *Iti'āz al-hunafā' fī akhbār al-a'imma al-Fātimīyyīn al-khulafā'*, *al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, *Durar al-'uqud al-farida* and other works.²

Al-Maqrizī's *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*, otherwise known as his *Khiṭaṭ*, is among his most important works and is undoubtedly one of the best examples of the genre of topographical writing. He begins with an account of Egypt's different regions and cities, which occupies about one quarter of the book. He then concentrates his attention on a description of Cairo, which, after the fall of Baghdad and the retreat of Muslim rule in Spain, had become the cultural and political centre of the Islamic world.

In this section al-Maqrizī gives a detailed account of everything that has to do with Cairo, his birthplace. Every relic and institution is described with extreme accuracy, with the history of their construction and any subsequent changes given at length. Biographies of rulers and notables who built them or lived in them are given, as are the important events, traditions, customs and ceremonies associated with them, so much so that, in the words of Quatremère, "We possess no work on any town of the Orient as complete and as interesting [as is the *Khiṭaṭ* on Cairo]."³

The material provided by al-Maqrizī in the course of his historical account of Cairo and its development draws its importance from the value and variety of his sources. Indeed a great portion of the material which he preserved for us would

otherwise have been lost and without him a large part of Egypt's history would have remained unknown to us.

The sections in which al-Maqrizī describes the system of *kharāj*, the collection of taxes and the allocation of fiefs (*iqṭā'*), as well as the entire section dealing with the Fatimids and the foundation of Cairo, are regarded as the most original and valuable sections of the *Khiṭaṭ*. Indeed, he is considered to be the most important Egyptian historian to write about the Fatimids, for he held it impossible to write a history of Egypt without according them their rightful place as the founders of Cairo and the ones who gave Egypt its important strategic position in the area. It is thus not surprising that his account of the Fatimids and the Cairo of their time occupies nearly half his book. In this context it is of interest to note that al-Maqrizī's description of Qal'at al-Jabal, the capital of the Ayyubids and later their successors the Mamelukes, who ruled Egypt in his day, does not match in its quality and sources his description of Cairo under the Fatimids.

The esteem in which Arab authors and scribes held this book is attested to by the existence of over 170 manuscript copies in libraries throughout the world. Of these, 35 are in libraries in Istanbul, 28 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and ten in the British Museum in London. These figures are far in excess of those for any other Arabic book. This is so despite the fact that the editor of the 1852 Būlāq edition of the book, relied on by researchers to date, complains that manuscripts of the book are rarely to be found in Egypt, and that the few that exist are full of "grave alterations, omissions and errors."⁴

Nineteenth century researchers were well aware of the importance of the book. The presence of many manuscript copies in Paris, Leiden and London attracted the attention of orientalisks who consulted it and quoted it at length in their writings about the history of Islamic Egypt. They also translated and published certain chapters from it, especially Langlès, Silvestre de Sacy, Quatremère and Wüstenfeld.⁵

² For more on al-Maqrizī, see Abū al-Mahāsīn b. al-Taghrībīrdī, *al-Manhal al-sāfi*, (Cairo, 1984-), I, 415–20; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi*, (Cairo, 1353–5 [1934–6]), II, 21–5; idem, *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī dhayl al-sulūk*, (Cairo, 1315/1896), 21–4; J. C. Garcin, "Al-Maqrizī, un historien encyclopédique du monde afro-oriental", *Les Africains*, IX (1978), 197–223.

³ E. Quatremère, "Livres des avis et de la réflexion, concernant les quartiers et les monuments [= al-Maqrizī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*]", *Journal des Savants* (1856), 326.

⁴ al-Maqrizī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, (Būlāq, 1270/1852), II, 520. This shows that these copies of the book were taken out of Egypt to the libraries of Turkey and Europe before the Būlāq edition was produced.

⁵ e.g. L. Langlès, "Histoire du Canal de Messr (vulgairement nommé Canal de Suez) tirée de la description géographique et historique de l'Égypte par Al-Maqrizy", *Magasin Encyclopédique*, V/5 (Paris, 1799), 289–310; idem, "Le livre des avis et sujets de réflexions [= al-Maqrizī, K.

The complete 1852 edition of the book was among the first produced by the Būlāq Press. Unfortunately it is not always reliable as it contains many errors and omissions deriving from the original manuscript sources used. However, it continues, in the absence of any more accurate edition, to be the basis for all studies dealing with the history and topography of the cities of Islamic Egypt. It was this edition that Ravaisse, Salmon, and Casanova used in their studies of the main cities of Islamic Egypt,⁶ as also did Van Berchem and Wiet in their description of Arabic inscriptions in Egypt,⁷ and Creswell in his description of the Muslim architecture of Egypt.⁸

In view of the importance of the book and the richness and variety of its subject-matter and sources on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the extent of the errors and distortions which plagued the only complete edition of it, Wiet set about producing a complete revised edition of the book. He began the project in 1911, only to give up in 1927 having produced five sections, i.e. the equivalent of pp. 2-322 of volume one of the Būlāq edition.⁹

al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tihār, premier extrait", *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, VI (Paris, 1801), 320-86; A. I. Silvestre de Sacy, "Route de la capitale de l'Égypte à Damas (extrait de la description de l'Égypte par Makrizi)", *Magasin Encyclopédique*, VII/2 (Paris, 1801), 328-32; idem, *Chrestomathie arabe* (Paris, 1806), I, 74-176 (Arabic text), II, 67-223 (French translation); E. Quatremère, "Livre des avis et de la réflexion" [see n. 3 above], 321-37; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Copten*, (Göttingen, 1845).

⁶ e.g. P. Ravaisse, "Essai sur l'histoire et sur la topographie du Caire d'après Makrizi (Palais des Khalifes Fatimites)", *Mémoires ... de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, I/3 (Paris, 1887), 409-80, and I/4 (Paris, 1890), 33-115; G. Salmon, *Études sur la topographie du Caire, la Ka'at al-Kabch et la Birkat al-Fil*, *Mémoires ... de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, VII (Cairo, 1902); P. Casanova, "Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire", *Mémoires ... de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, VI/4-5 (Paris, 1894 and 1897), 509-781; idem, *Essai de reconstitution topographique de la ville d'al-Foustāt ou Misr*, *Mémoires ... de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, XXXV (Cairo, 1913-19).

⁷ M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Première partie, Égypte, Le Caire*, I, *Mémoires ... de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, XIX/1-5 (Paris, 1894-1903); G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Première partie, Égypte*, II, *Mémoires ... de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, LII (Cairo, 1929-30).

⁸ K. A. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (Oxford, 1952-9; reprint, New York, 1978).

⁹ al-Maqrīzī, *K. al-Mawā'iz*, ed. G. Wiet (Cairo, 1911-1927).

He must have been daunted by the enormous number of manuscripts he was able to collect, all of which also contained numerous errors and omissions.

The draft of al-Maqrīzī's Khitāt

Luckily the Khazīna library, attached to the Museum of the Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, is in possession of the first draft (no. 1472) of al-Maqrīzī's *Khitāt*. This draft represents al-Maqrīzī's first conception of the book and differs greatly in its arrangement, sources and extent of information from the final version of the *Khitāt* as represented by the Būlāq edition. Indeed, only a relatively small part of it is the same.

This draft is one of the few extant texts which give us a glimpse into earlier scholars' methods of book composition. We have a number of works in their own authors' hand but it is very rare that we come across their draft copies. A draft is usually undertaken by the author during his collection of material for the book. It is like a skeleton of the book in which he can make changes by adding, omitting or changing the sequence of material. In this way it falls well short of the complete version that the author finally achieves.

It is well-known that the quality of long-hand copies of a given book varies considerably, some of them being of no value whatsoever for the correction of the text, while others may be invaluable in this respect. The function of an editor is to evaluate and compare copies in accordance with the accepted rules of editing and publishing early books. Among these are that a copy in the author's own hand is the most valuable of all; then copies that have been read out to the author or marked by him; then copies that have been checked against other copies and have then circulated among scholars and been authorised by them; finally, old copies take precedence over new copies.

There are exceptions, however, to this last rule. When, in 1914, Nicholson published the book of *al-Luma' fī al-taṣawwuf*, by Abī Naṣr 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Sarrāj al-Tūsī (d. 378/988), he relied on two manuscripts, one written in 548/1153 and the other in 683/1284, using the later version as his main source. This was because it was complete whereas the older one was defective in almost one-third of the book, with the rest being arranged in an incomprehensible way.

Nicholson only used the older version for purposes of comparison in his editing of the later text.¹⁰

Some books are written over two stages. The first consists of a draft which the author writes in the course of his gathering of the material for his book, while the second consists of the fair copy in which the author revises what he wrote in the draft, correcting mistakes, re-ordering chapters and making various insertions in the text.

The draft of al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ* in the Khazīna library is a unique specimen of an author's draft, and invaluable for acquainting us with the way in which early scholars composed books. The manuscript contains a great deal of deletion, scraping off and crossing out as well as numerous long additions in the margins and on scraps (*tayyārat*) inserted between the sheets of the book. It also shows alterations of some texts and notes to remind the author to move certain sections to a more appropriate place in the text. We also find reminders for the author to finish the copying of certain texts left incomplete, or to refer to new sources that he came across after finishing the draft.

Did al-Maqrīzī plagiarise al-Awhādī?

This particular draft is also of use in settling an issue that has vexed scholars interested in al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ*. By this I mean al-Sakhāwī's accusation that al-Maqrīzī plagiarised the draft by his neighbour al-Awhādī on the same subject, correcting it and enlarging upon it and then attributing it to himself.¹¹ The draft of al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ* as well as what he himself wrote about al-Awhādī can help us to arrive at a sound judgement as to whether al-Sakhāwī's accusation is true or not.

Although in his introduction to the *Khīṭaṭ*, in which he lists all those predecessors of his who wrote topographical descriptions of Egypt and Cairo, al-Maqrīzī fails to mention his two contemporaries Ibn Duqmaq and al-Awhādī, he was full of praise for the latter in his biographical notice about him in his

¹⁰ See Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma' fi al-taṣawwuf*, ed. R. A. Nicholson (Leiden and London, 1914), xxxiv-xxxv; also G. Bergsträsser, *Uṣūl naqd al-nuṣūṣ wa-nashr al-kutub*, prepared and introduced by Muḥammad Hamdī al-Bakrī (Cairo, 1969), 14-15.

¹¹ al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmī*, I, 358-9, and II, 22; idem, *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 22; idem, *al-I'lān bi-l-tawbikh* (Beirut, 1399/1979), 131.

Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda. He also acknowledges his familiarity with the draft of al-Awhādī's work and the benefit he drew from it. Furthermore, he mentions al-Awhādī's knowledge of Egypt's history and Cairo's topography and then goes on to say, "I copied from him a number of accounts and learnt much from him on the subject of history and was fortunate to come across drafts written in his own hand dealing with the topography of Cairo which I included in my large book entitled *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khīṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*. He also gave me a copy of his collected poems in an elegant volume."¹²

This acknowledgement proves the point that is often repeated in al-Sakhāwī's writings, namely that al-Awhādī was the author of a substantial draft, into which he put a great deal of effort, on Cairo's topography. However, at the same time it acquits al-Maqrīzī of the charge of plagiarism levelled against him by al-Sakhāwī and about which many other scholars have had their doubts. Nevertheless, the inevitable question is, if al-Maqrīzī made use of al-Awhādī's draft, as he admits, and included material from it in his *Khīṭaṭ*, why does he not cite it among his sources in his introduction? And why does he not refer to it in those places in his book where he has made such use of it?

One possible answer would seem to be that al-Awhādī wrote a draft of his own *Khīṭaṭ* of Cairo and perhaps revised parts of it at the time when his neighbour al-Maqrīzī was pursuing the same interest. It may also have been that al-Awhādī was at pains to hide the sources of his information from al-Maqrīzī. However, when al-Awhādī died young in 811/1408 without having completed or revised his book, al-Maqrīzī obtained it in draft form and was thus able to find out his sources and the libraries he used and to consult them personally. All these borrowings were then incorporated into his own draft, as seen in the many scraps between the sheets of his book as well as the lengthy marginal notes which he added to it, all of which were texts which were attributed to their original sources and which helped him to reclassify his book and provided him with very valuable material. Most of the texts which he took from al-Awhādī's book are attributed to Ibn Zūlāq, al-Musabbiḥi, Ibn al-Ma'mūn, Ibn al-Ṣayrafi, the *Kitāb al-Dhakhār* or *wa-l-tuḥaf*, and the commentary

¹² al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī (Beirut, 1992), I, 233.

by al-Qādī al-Fāḍil in *al-Mutajaddidāt*, all of which are in the section devoted to the description of Cairo under the Fatimids.

It would seem that al-Awḥadī's draft may have consisted of nothing more than excerpts of texts pieced together without any great consideration and that all that al-Maqrīzī did was to copy these texts, which hitherto he had not known about, into his own book from their original sources. This may be why he did not feel obliged to mention al-Awḥadī, since he had neither revised his book nor made a fair copy of it. Nevertheless, professional ethics would normally have required al-Maqrīzī to include the acknowledgement that he was fortunate to come across drafts in al-Awḥadī's hand — which he mentions in his *Durar al-'uqūd al-farida* — in his introduction to the *Khīṭa*.

Description of the draft

The draft of al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭa* in the Khazāna Library consists of 180 sheets of quarto size, each of 20 lines. It measures 183 x 145 mm, and was most probably written by al-Maqrīzī during the period 818–827/1415–1424.

The draft appears to have been written on previously used paper and there are many blanks, which suggests that al-Maqrīzī was going to reconsider certain sections and fill them in from other sources. The kind of paper used here is the same as that on which al-Maqrīzī wrote the draft of his book *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, now in Paris. This latter draft too, contains corrections and marginal additions by the author which suggest that at the time he had not yet finished the book.

Many of the scraps (*tayyarāt*) placed between the sheets of the book are bound back to front. Furthermore, the last sheet in the manuscript (no. 180) is not in the right place but should really be at the beginning of the volume since it is concerned with defining the limits of the area lying between Fustāt and Cairo.

A study of this manuscript reveals that al-Maqrīzī must have restructured his book after completing it during the last decade of his life. He must also have divided some of the long quotations included in his draft and then moved some of them to more appropriate places in the book.

The date of this draft's authorship can be construed from what al-Maqrīzī mentions in the course of his description of downtown Cairo, or the Great Street, where he demarcates the

street by reference to *Khizānat Shamā'il*, which at that time was the prison of Cairo's governor. This *khizāna* was demolished in the year 818/1415, and so at a later stage al-Maqrīzī added a marginal note to the effect that the *Sūq al-Khila'iyyīn* and *Khizānat Shamā'il* had been turned into a mosque built by al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Abū al-Naṣr Shaykh al-Mahmūdī.

This draft is indeed unique in what it reveals to us of early scholars' methods of book composition, and for this reason I have prepared an edition of it for publication as a separate volume. I have refrained from comparing it with other complete versions of the text because of the differences of arrangement between them, especially in view of the fact that the present text contains details which do not exist in the final versions, which are also full of errors and distortions. Having said this, however, one should note that al-Maqrīzī's draft has been of great help in ascertaining the correct reading of many technical terms, proper names and place names which have become distorted in other versions of his *Khīṭa*.

PROBLEMS OF ATTRIBUTION IN HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL WORKS

MOHAMED BENCHERIFA

It is well known that Islamic manuscripts have suffered much damage during their long history in both the eastern and western parts of the Islamic world. The damage suffered by the manuscripts of Muslim Spain provides perhaps the clearest example of this, for although Andalusian scholars produced a vast number of written works, the majority of them are no longer extant.

The problem of anonymous authorship is most acute in the fields of history and geography, and it is from these two disciplines that I shall illustrate the loss of the Andalusian heritage. Almost a century ago, the Spanish arabist Pons Boigues tried to enumerate the historians and geographers of Muslim Spain and counted more than three hundred writers in the two disciplines, while their works were nearly double that number.¹ Unfortunately, only a small part of this vast corpus survives. The 60 volumes of Ibn Hayyān's *Kitāb al-Matīn*, for example, have been lost, as too have his *al-Ma'āthir al-'Amiriyya* (or *Akhbār al-dawla al-'Amiriyya*) and his *al-Baṭsha al-kubrā*.² Lost too is Ibn Shuhayd's *al-Ta'rikh al-kabir*, which consisted of more than a hundred volumes,³ as are historical works by ʿĀl al-Rāzī, al-Ḥukayyim, Ibn al-Nazzām, Ibn Sa'dān, Khālid b. Sa'id, 'Arib, Ishāq b. Salama al-Qaynī, al-Aqushṭīn, Ibn 'Abd al-Ra'ūf, al-Shabānisī, al-Qubbashī, 'Ubāda b. Mā' al-Samā', Ibn Muzayn,

¹ See F. Pons Boigues, *Los Historiadores y Geógrafos Árabe-Españoles* (Madrid, 1898; reprint Amsterdam, 1972).

² For the works of Ibn Hayyān, see Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabas*, ed. Maḥmūd 'Alī Makki (Beirut, 1973), Introduction, 65-85.

³ See Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-Sila*, ed. F. Codera, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana I-II* (Madrid, 1882-3), 349, no. 756 (= ed. al-'Aṭṭār [1955], 338).

Ibn Abī al-Fayyād, and others.⁴ Some of these are all but forgotten, such as al-Hukayyim's *Tārīkh*, which is not mentioned in any of the historical bibliographies and which we know about solely through Ibn 'Abd al-Malik's transmissions from it.⁵

The problem is complicated by the fact that part of the extant historical literature consists of works which were originally in several volumes but of which now we sometimes have only one. An example is al-'Udhari's geographical work *Tarṣī' al-akhbār* (or *Nizām al-marjān*) of which only the seventh volume survives.⁶ Another example is the historical work of Ibn al-Qattān, known as *Nazm al-jumān*, of which only the thirteenth volume is known to exist.⁷ Other such works include the *Kitāb al-Muqtabas* of Ibn Hayyān, of which only four out of ten volumes are known to have survived,⁸ and the *Kitāb al-Dhayl wa-l-takmilā* of Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, of which we have perhaps five of the original nine volumes.⁹ There are also a number of historical and geographical works which have reached us without the names of their authors, and it is these which form the subject-matter of this paper. We shall briefly present these works in

⁴ For these figures, see the Andalusian *ṭabaqāt* literature.

⁵ For al-Hukayyim and his *Tārīkh*, see M. Bencherifa, "Hawā mu'arrikh Andalusī majhūl" in *Majallat Akādīmiyyat al-Mamlaka al-Maghribiyya*, II (February, 1985).

⁶ What remains of the seventh volume of al-'Udhari's work, discovered in a private library in Jerusalem, was published as *Nusūṣ 'an al-Andalus, min Tarṣī' al-akhbār wa-tanwī' al-athār* ..., ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ahwānī (Madrid, 1965). The manuscript had previously been the property of 'Abd al-'Aziz b. al-Maljum al-Fāsi, the owner of a unique collection of books which was sold after his death in 605 AH by his only daughter for 4,000 dinars. It is not known when this copy of al-'Udhari's work was moved eastwards.

⁷ This manuscript was in the possession of 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kittānī, and was lent to Lévi-Provençal. After Lévi-Provençal's death it was sold to the Egyptian Institute in Madrid and then edited and published (= Ibn al-Qattān, *Juz' min kitāb Nazm al-jumān*, ed. Mahmūd 'Alī Makkī [Tetouan, n.d.]). It has also been republished in Beirut.

⁸ Of these volumes the following have been published: vol. II, last part (= 232-267 AH), ed. Mahmūd 'Alī Makkī (Beirut, 1393/1973); vol. III (= 275-299 AH), ed. Le P. Melchor M. Antuña (Paris, 1937); vol. V (= 300-330 AH), ed. P. Chalmers (Madrid, 1979); unnumbered vol. (= 360-364 AH), ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Alī Hajjī (Beirut, 1965; reprint 1983).

⁹ i.e. vol. I, parts 1 and 2, ed. M. Bencherifa (Beirut, n.d.); vol. IV (incomplete), ed. Ihsān 'Abbās (Beirut, 1964); vol. V, parts 1 and 2, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās (Beirut, 1964); vol. VI, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās (Beirut, 1973); vol. VIII, parts 1 and 2, ed. M. Bencherifa (Rabat, 1984).

chronological order, and then attempt to explain the causes of this phenomenon.

The "Akhbār majmū'a"

Firstly, there is a work which is part of a unique manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (MS no. 2/1867). Its title, after the *basmala* and prayers for the Prophet (*taskiya*), is given as follows: *Akhbār majmū'a fī iftitāh al-Andalus wa-dhikr man waliyahā min al-umārā' ilā dukhūl 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwiya wa taghallubihī 'alayhā wa-mulkihi fihā huwa wa-waladuhū wa-l-hurūb al-kā'ina fī dhālika baynahum*. This was published with a Spanish translation by Lafuente y Alcántara in 1867,¹⁰ and is an indispensable source for the history of Spain from the conquest to the period of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāsir's reign. Scholars have differed over the date of composition of this work. Both Lafuente y Alcántara and Dozy believe that it was written during the 5th century AH, whilst Ribera holds that it was completed towards the end of the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāsir. However, there is nothing in the work itself, nor in any other well-known source, to indicate who its author might have been.

The "Crónica Anónima"

Secondly, we have a work edited and translated conjointly by Lévi-Provençal and García Gómez and published in 1950 under the title *Una Crónica Anónima de 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāsir*.¹¹ It is in fact a small section of an historical work written, according to the editors, in the 4th or at the latest the 5th century AH. This fragment, consisting of 22 pages, was bought in the city of Fez. The editors, basing their judgment on the Andalusian script of the copy and the type of paper used, are of the opinion that it was transcribed during the 8th century AH either in Merinid Fez or in Nasrid Granada. As for the author of the work of which this fragment is a part, the editors suggest a number of

¹⁰ *Akhbār Machmū'a, Crónica Anónima del Siglo XI*, ed. E. Lafuente y Alcántara (Madrid, 1867).

¹¹ *Una Crónica Anónima de 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāsir*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez (Madrid and Granada, 1950).

hypotheses, including 'Arīb, al-Rāzī, Ibn Ḥayyān, al-Shabānī and al-Qubbashī. However, these remain hypotheses, since there is nothing in the text to enable one to arrive at a firm conclusion on the matter.¹²

If we compare the years and events mentioned in this section with their corresponding entries in the fifth volume of the *Kitāb al-Muqtabas*, it is evident that the author of the fragment in question relied on Ibn Ḥayyān's accounts, summarising them and often retaining his wording. Amongst examples of this is the following passage from the anonymous chronicle on al-Nāṣir:

In the year 309, al-Nāṣir li-Dīni-llāh drove, from among the rebels in the central zone, the Banū Sa'īd and the Banū Nāṣih, collectively known as the Banū Mastana, from their fortresses Riberash and al-'Āliya in the district of Priego (Bāghuh). He also drove the Banū Muhallab from their fortresses of Cardela (Qardayra) and Esparraguera (Ishbarraghira).¹³

The corresponding text in *al-Muqtabas* is as follows:

In the same year al-Nāṣir li-Dīni-llāh drove, from among the rebels in the central zone, the Banū Sa'īd and the Banū Nāṣih, collectively known as the Banū Mastana, driving them from their fortresses in the district of Priego (Bāghuh), namely Riberash, al-'Āliya, and her daughters [?]. In the same year he also drove the Banū Muhallab from their fortresses, namely Cardela (Qardayra), Esparraguera (Ishbarraghira), and others.¹⁴

Abridgements of al-Bakrī's "Masālik"

We should note here that abridgement, supplementation and completion are among the predominant characteristics of the historical and geographical writings which become common from the 5th/11th century onwards in Andalusia and Morocco. This can be seen, for example, in the adaptations that were made of al-Rushdī's *Iqtibās al-anwār* and al-Bakrī's *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*. The former was abridged by more than one person during and after the 7th/13th century,¹⁵ whilst three Andalusian

scholars made adaptations of the second work. The first of these three we know only by his *nisba*, al-Ishbīlī (the Sevillian). The second is the writer and physician Abū al-Hakam 'Ubaydallāh b. Ghalinduh: Ibn al-Shabbāṭ came across a copy of al-Bakrī's *Masālik* which had been completed by him and he quoted some paragraphs from it describing Sicily which do not occur in standard copies of the work.¹⁶ It appears that the author of *al-Rawḍ al-mi'tār* also had access to this version, since his quotations from the *Masālik* are also much more extensive and complete than their equivalents in existing copies of the work.¹⁷

The third Andalusian to abridge the *Masālik* of al-Bakrī was the author of *al-Istibṣār*, whom we believe to be Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi al-Hafid, the scribe of the Almohads. We base this claim on various pieces of evidence, the most outstanding of which are al-Tamgrūṭī's quotations from al-Hafid and his naming him in his travelogue *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*. We have enlarged on the evidence for this in a monograph devoted to al-Hafid.¹⁸

Miscellaneous works

Other geographical writings from Andalusia and the Maghreb contain similar ambiguities and obscurities. Thus orientalist differ about the name of al-Zuhri, author of a geographical work, with some, like Dozy, calling him "the unknown Almerian."¹⁹ Few of the distinguishing characteristics of this author came to light until after his book was edited by al-Hajj Sādiq.

Scholars also differ as to whether Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, the author of *al-Rawḍ al-mi'tār*, was from Ceuta, Andalusia or Tunis, and as to the date of his death.²⁰

¹⁶ See the text published by Aḥmad Mukhtār al-'Ibādī in *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, XIV (1967-8), 155-7.

¹⁷ See Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, *al-Rawḍ al-mi'tār fī khabar al-aqtār*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās (Beirut, 1975), 314-15, 366-8, 520-21; also the introduction to al-Bakrī, *al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik* (1992), I, 29.

¹⁸ M. Bencherifa, *Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi al-Hafid: fuṣūl min sīra mansūbiyya* (Beirut, 1992), 159-94.

¹⁹ See I. Y. Krachkovskii, *Tārīkh al-adab al-jugharāfi* (Beirut, 1972), 303.

²⁰ See E. Lévi-Provençal, *La péninsule ibérique au moyen-âge* (Leiden, 1938), ix-xviii; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im, *al-Rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, Introduction, v-xiii; also the article by Muḥammad al-Manūnī in *al-Manāhil*, I, 367-72.

¹² *ibid.*, 15-22.

¹³ *ibid.*, 65 (Arabic text), 136 (Spanish translation).

¹⁴ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas*, V, 173.

¹⁵ See Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila*, I, 274, n. 1.

"*Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*"

Another example of this type of anonymous work is the *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* - whose full title is given as *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus wa-man malakahā min mulūki al-Murābiṭīn wa-l-Muwahhidīn wa-Banī Hūd wa-Banī Marīn wa-Banī Naṣr wa-Banī Ashqailūla* - which is like a scrapbook of remarks by historians and geographers about Andalusia. The only two known manuscripts of this compilation came to light at the time of Morocco's independence. One was in the possession of al-Glaoui Pasha and is now kept in the National Library (no. 85 jīm). The other was discovered in a royal palace and is now kept in the Ḥasaniyya Library (no. 558). A young Spanish orientalist, Luis Molina, has now edited this work and translated it into Spanish, relying on these two copies.²¹

The compiler of this work refers to himself by the phrase *qāl ṣāhib al-ta'rīkh* ("The author of the history says").²² Al-Maqqari, in his *Nafh al-ṭib*, quotes several times from this history but seems not to have known the identity of its author whose name does not appear in the copy which he used. Consequently he prefaces his quotations with various phrases such as "a Maghribi historian has said ...", "what I have read by a Maghribi historian ...", and "a later writer has said ...".²³ We do not know, however, how he knew that the author was from the Maghreb or that he was one of the "later" historians.

The editor is of the opinion that the work was written during the Granadan period. He supports this claim by a remark by the author on the subject of Granada — "And today it is the seat of the Muslim kingdom in Andalusia and the centre of authority" — and the fact that the author's prayer for Almeria ("And Almeria, may God protect it!") indicates that the city was still in the hands of the Muslims at that time, since his prayer for many other Andalusian towns was "May Allāh in His gracious favour return it to Islam!"²⁴ As for the editor's hypothesis that the author was from Fez and may also have been the author of the *Rawḍ al-*

²¹ Luis Molina, *Una Descripción Anónima de Al-Andalus* (Madrid, 1983), vols. I (*Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, Introduction and Arabic text) and II (Spanish translation and study).

²² See Molina, *Descripción Anónima*, I, 35, 91, 107, 175, 182, etc. The author also uses the phrase "*qāl ṣāhib al-ta'rīf*."

²³ See al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-ṭib*, I, 197; Molina, *Descripción Anónima*, II, 303.

²⁴ *ibid.*, I, xviii-xix.

qirtās,²⁵ no support for these is to be found in the text itself nor anywhere else. Indeed, there is considerable dispute about the author of the *Rawḍ al-qirtās*, since there are handwritten copies that attribute the work to Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Ḥaylānī, a historian from Marrakesh, as well as quotations in other works that attribute it to this man rather than to Ibn Zar' al-Fāsi.

"*Mafākhir al-Barbar*"

Amongst anonymous historical works written during the Merinid period is a book called *Mafākhir al-Barbar* which, apart from the very beginning, is complete. It consists of three sections: the first, from which the beginning is missing, consists of chapters containing quotations on history, geography and genealogy, all of which relate to the Maghreb. Without doubt, this section is by Abū 'Alī Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm. This is confirmed by expressions which recur throughout the book and at the end of its chapters, such as the following:

'Ubayd Allāh Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm said: "This is the extent of our knowledge of the genealogies of the inhabitants of the central Maghreb. We shall [also] mention, God willing, the genealogies of the people in the lands of the farthest Maghreb as far as we are able."²⁶

This claim regarding the identity of the author cited in the first section is also proved by the fact that quotations from this section are also found in the *Bayān* of Ibn 'Idhārī, where once again they are attributed to Abū 'Alī Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm. Thus in the first part of the *Bayān* we read:

Abū 'Alī Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Ṣāliḥ informed me that as far as he knew, it was not true that 'Uqba, may God be pleased with him, was present at the building of any of the mosques in the Maghreb, apart from the mosque of al-Qayrawān and a mosque in Dar'a in the farthest Sūs. The other mosques named after him were, it seems, built by others at places where he stayed, and God knows best.²⁷

²⁵ *ibid.*, II, 304.

²⁶ *Mafākhir al-Barbar*, MS Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Āmma, 1020 dāl, f. 8.

²⁷ Ibn al-'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, I, 27.

The original version of this item is presented in the first section of the *Mafākhir al-Barbar* as follows:

The authors of the *Masālik*, al-Bakrī and al-Ishbīlī, say: "He built his mosque, which is known by his name to this day, at Nafis, and God knows the truth of this best. However, the mosques at the building of which he was known to have been present are the mosque of al-Qayruwān, one in Dar'a and one in the Sūs Valley. As for the others, God knows best the truth of the matter."²⁸

Similar proof is furnished by the presence of certain passages from this book in *Dalā'il al-qibla*, written by the same author. The following passage, for instance, occurs in the latter treatise:

Shaykh Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Makhḥad told us that the scupulous *faqīh* Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ḥassūn al-Makrī, known as al-Kafif, told him that the minbar of Aghmāt Haylāna was constructed in the year 80 AH, and I think that was written on it.²⁹

This passage also occurs in the first section of the *Mafākhir* as follows:

'Ubayd Allāh said that Abū Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Mukhallad told him at Taourirt that Abū 'Alī al-Kafif had told him at Asafī that the minbar at Aghmāt Haylāna was commissioned in the year 85 AH.³⁰

It is the habit of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm to introduce his items with the phrase "*qāl 'Ubaydallāh*", which Lévi-Provençal and others have taken to mean that 'Ubaydallāh was a son of this historian.³¹ However, it seems more likely that the name simply describes the historian himself, who was well-known for his piety and modesty, as is shown by the first of the two texts cited.

The second section of this work begins with the *basmala*, *taṣliya* (blessings on the Prophet) and *ḥamdala*. These are followed by an introduction which mentions the name of the work, *Mafākhir al-Barbar*, its contents and the reason it was

written. Towards the end of this introduction, after referring to the correspondence that took place between al-Ghazālī and Yūsuf b. Tāshfin, comes the following sentence: "And we shall quote the letter of Shaykh Abū Ḥamid [i.e. al-Ghazālī] to him in its proper place in this work, together with [other] letters that contain material relevant to this discipline."³² This is indeed what we find in the third section of the work, which also starts with the *basmala* and *taṣliya*, before listing a few entries from the travelogue of Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī and the above-mentioned letter of al-Ghazālī, along with other material. One would normally assume that these two sections were also part of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm's work because of their resemblance to the first section, were it not for a paragraph in the second section which contradicts such a conclusion, for at the end of a list of outstanding Berber jurists we read:

And among them is the upright *faqīh* and knowledgeable historian Abū 'Alī Ṣāliḥ, son of the upright, saintly and pious scholar, Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, who settled in Nafis and who is still alive now, in the year 712 AH. God has combined knowledge and worship in him, and endowed him with discerning judgment and piety. He is renowned for his virtue and his withholding himself from the world, taking from it only that which fulfils his needs, being aloof from its people and manifesting piety in the highest degree. He is also distinguished by his generosity, kindness, purity and God-fearing nature, [all of which] are the qualities of [our] upright forebears (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*). [As the poet said]:

Were it not that we would be thought excessive,
We would have outstripped in speech those who strive to outstrip.

I asked him about his tribe and he said that he was of Aylānī lineage.³³

It seems likely that this paragraph was inserted by the son of 'Abd al-Ḥalīm or by one of his students who thought it appropriate to add it and thus complete the list of jurists mentioned, since, as the line of poetry indicates, he was considered to be of as great a stature as the others.

²⁸ *Mafākhir al-Barbar*, f. 14v.

²⁹ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, *Dalā'il al-qibla*, MS Rabat, al-Khizāna al-'amma, f. 15v.

³⁰ *Mafākhir al-Barbar*, f. 15v; see also E. Lévi-Provençal, "Fath al-'arab li-l-Maghrib", *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islamicos en Madrid*, II (1373/1954), 223.

³¹ *ibid.*, 202.

³² *Mafākhir al-Barbar*, f. 21v.

³³ *ibid.* f. 37v; *Kitāb Mafākhir al-Barbar*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Rabat, 1353/1934), 75.

We thus feel that careful comparison between the different sections of this work on the one hand, and between them and the *Dalā'il al-qibla* on the other (this latter being firmly established as the work of Ibn 'Abd al-Halīm), will bear out what we have said above.

Finally, we draw the reader's attention to the fact that Lévi-Provençal published the second part of this work in 1934, saying that it was by "an unknown historian who wrote it in the year 712 AH" — this being, as we have seen, the year mentioned in the paragraph quoted above — and he also published part of the first section in the *Journal of the Egyptian Institute in Madrid*. Lévi-Provençal in fact considers it well possible that the whole book is the work of Ibn 'Idhārī.³⁴ This, however, is contradicted by numerous pieces of evidence, some of which we have mentioned above, which make us prefer to attribute the work to Ibn 'Abd al-Halīm.

"*al-Hulal al-mawshiyya*"

We now turn to another historical work which was composed during the middle years of the Granadan period, namely *al-Hulal al-mawshiyya fī dhikr al-akhbār al-Marrākushiyya*. No extant manuscripts of this work contain the name of the author. When the book was printed for the first time in Tunis in 1911, it was attributed to Ibn al-Khatīb.³⁵ However, the publisher cannot have noticed the date of composition, 783 AH, given towards the end of the work;³⁶ Ibn al-Khatīb died in 776 AH, and this book was therefore written seven years after his death. Two further editions of the book appeared in Morocco: one in Rabat in 1936,³⁷ and the second in Casablanca in 1979.³⁸ The editors of this latter edition state on the title page that it is by "an Andalusian writer who lived in the 8th century AH."³⁹ I do not know why the editors do not accept the word of the author of *al-Budūr al-dāwiyya* and subsequent authors, namely that the *Hulal* is one of

the works of Ibn Simāk al-ʿĀmilī,⁴⁰ for it seems unlikely that the author of the *Budūr* would say such a thing rashly. Rather, it is quite possible that he came across a copy attributed to this author. Nor did the editors consult the studies by Brunschvig, Bosch Vilá and Rubiera, or Maḥmūd Makkī's recent treatment of the subject in his introduction to Ibn Simāk's *al-Zahrāt al-manthūra*.⁴¹ All of these scholars, basing their arguments on the evidence of the author of *al-Budūr al-dāwiyya* and on a resemblance between the *Hulal* and the *Zahrāt*, incline to the view that the author of the *Hulal* was Ibn Simāk.

I recently came across a new book by Ibn Simāk (whose full name is Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAlā' b. Simāk) entitled *Rawnaq al-tahbīr fī ḥukm al-siyāsa wa-l-tadbīr*, dedicated to al-Musta'in bi-llāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Ghanī bi-llāh. In the introduction, the author tells us that it was the fruit of 33 years of service to the Naṣrid state, and mentions that he had previously dedicated essays and literary works on various disciplines to the father and grandfather of this sultān.⁴² In this work we find strong evidence that *al-Hulal al-mawshiyya* is by this same Ibn Simāk, namely that the same phrases occur in both works. For example, in the introductory paragraph of the *Hulal*, after the *ḥamdala* and the invocation of blessings on the Prophet and the Companions, we find a prayer for "... ḥādḥa al-maqām al-ʿalī al-Muḥammadi al-Naṣrī al-Sultānī al-Mujāhidī."⁴³ The same phrase occurs in the *Rawnaq al-tahbīr* as follows: "... ḥādḥa al-maqām al-ʿalī al-Muḥammadi al-Naṣrī al-Sultānī al-Musta'inī."⁴⁴ The phrase is thus the same except that in the first book the prayer is for Muḥammad al-Ghanī bi-llāh, whilst in the second it is for Muḥammad al-Musta'in bi-llāh. Another such example occurs at the end of both works in the following supplication:

"O God, guard with Your unsleeping eye his kingdom, noble as far as it extends, and reward his efforts in protecting and defending the

⁴⁰ *al-Budūr al-dāwiyya* (MS), f. 3. Al-ʿĀmilī has been corrupted into al-ʿĀmirī, and is quoted thus in *al-Maṣādir al-ʿarabiyya li-tarikh al-Maghrib*, 105.

⁴¹ Ibn Simāk, *al-Zahrāt al-manthūra*, ed. Maḥmūd ʿAlī Makkī (Madrid, 1984).

⁴² *Rawnaq al-tahbīr*, MS Rabat, al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma, 295 qāf, ff. 1-

2.

⁴³ *al-Hulal al-mawshiyya*, ed. Zakkār and Zamāma, 12.

⁴⁴ *Rawnaq al-tahbīr*, *ḍibāja*.

³⁴ Lévi-Provençal, "Fath al-ʿarab li-l-Maghrib", 201.

³⁵ *al-Hulal al-mawshiyya fī dhikr al-akhbār al-Marrākushiyya*, ta'lif... Ibn al-Khatīb, ed. al-Bashīr al-Fūrātī (Tunis, 1329 [1911]).

³⁶ See *al-Hulal al-mawshiyya*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār and ʿAbd al-Qādir Zamāma (Casablanca, 1399/1979), 181.

³⁷ *al-Hulal al-mawshiyya*, ed. I. S. Allouche (Rabat, 1936).

³⁸ See n. 36 above.

³⁹ *al-Hulal al-mawshiyya*, ed. Zakkār and Zamāma, 1.

territories of Islam. O God, let all the provinces be encompassed by the goodness of his practice and allow him to attain his greatest wishes and highest hopes. O God, allow him to revivify on this peninsula the ways of Tāriq b. Ziyād, and perpetuate his days among us, which are like times of celebration and feast days; for You are all-powerful and enduring. This is all; and peace."⁴⁵

In our opinion, the presence of this text at the end of both books removes any uncertainty regarding the attribution of the work.

There is another form of words that is found in both works. In the *Hulal* we find the following expression: "The author of this has said: 'If this format were to be followed we would be straying from our intended goal of brevity'"⁴⁶ while in *Rawnaq al-tahbīr* we find the following: "The writer has said: 'If this format were to be followed [our] speech would become very long.'"⁴⁷

Another familiar formula is Ibn Simāk's phrase, taken here from the end of the *dībāja* of *al-Zahrāt al-manthūra*, "*wa hādā hīn al-ibtidā' bi-l-Zahrāt*" ("And this, at the outset of the *Zahrāt*").⁴⁸ At the end of the *dībāja* of the *Hulal* we find: "*wa hādā hīn al-ibtidā' bimā ashartu ilayhi min al-anbā'*" ("And this, at the outset of the information to which I allude.")⁴⁹

Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Qaṣīda* 'ayniyya, in which he offers counsel to Amīr Tāshfīn, is also common to each work. Of particular interest to us are the words used by way of introduction to this *qaṣīda*, for in each work they contain similar if not identical phrases. This is the text as it appears in the *Hulal*:

He defeated the Christians after a battle had ensued between the two groups, during which the majority of those with him deserted him. Whilst battle still raged the jurist Abū Zakariyya congratulated him on his safety, and warned him of the deceptive nature of war and informed him of its rules and what could correctly be done during it.⁵⁰

In the introduction to the *qaṣīda* in *Rawnaq al-tahbīr*, we read that the poet addressed the prince with the ode

⁴⁵ *al-Hulal al-mawshiyya*, ed. Zakkār and Zamāma, 190; *Rawnaq al-tahbīr*, f. 49.

⁴⁶ *al-Hulal al-mawshiyya*, ed. Zakkār and Zamāma 32.

⁴⁷ *Rawnaq al-tahbīr*, f. 15b.

⁴⁸ Ibn Simāk, *al-Zahrāt al-manthūra*, 54.

⁴⁹ *al-Hulal al-mawshiyya*, ed. Zakkār and Zamāma, 14.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 124.

... immediately after he had defeated the Christians after a split and confrontation between the two parties took place, during which all those with him deserted him. Then he congratulated him on his safety, and warned him of the deceptive nature of war and informed him of its rules and what could correctly be done during it.⁵¹

This unity of style is a clear indication that both works were written by the same author.

Another similarity between the two works is the story connected with 'Abd al-Mu'min's military organisation in facing Tāshfīn in the region of Tlemcen; the wording of the description is identical in both works,⁵² again showing that they are by the same author.

"*Akhbār al-'aṣr*"

If we have been able to assess the identity of the author of *Hulal* by analytical textual comparison, we are unable to do so with regard to one of the last chronicles of the history of Andalusia, *Akhbār al-'aṣr fī inqidā' dawlat Banī Naṣr*. The name of the author is not mentioned in any of the manuscript copies of the work which have been found so far. However, from time to time he does use the expression *qāl al-mu'arrikh* (or *al-mu'allif*) '*afā Allāh 'anhu*' ("The historian (or 'the author'), God forgive him, said").⁵³ This is similar to what is found in *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* in which the following expressions are reiterated: *qāl ṣāhib al-ta'lif/al-ta'rikh* (the author of the work/the history said) or *qāl al-mu'allif 'afā Allāh 'anhu* ("The author, God forgive him, said").⁵⁴ Such expressions also occur frequently throughout the *Rawḍ al-Qirtās*.⁵⁵ Whatever the case may be, all that we know of the author of *Akhbār al-'aṣr* is that his knowledge was limited, for he says in the introduction to his book that

⁵¹ *Rawnaq al-tahbīr*, f. 28v.

⁵² *al-Hulal al-mawshiyya*, ed. Zakkār and Zamāma, 132; *Rawnaq al-tahbīr*, f. 28v.

⁵³ *Akhbār al-'aṣr*, ed. M. J. Müller (Munich, 1863), 2, 6, 17.

⁵⁴ Molina, *Descripción Anónima*, I, 29, 47-8, 87, 91, 107, 175.

⁵⁵ Due to the many printed editions of the *Rawḍ al-Qirtās* (or *al-Anis al-mutrib*), it has seemed pointless to list all the pages in which these expressions occur.

I have inclined to brevity, leaving aside lengthiness and prolixity, since my literary talent is weak and my offerings of eloquence are insignificant.⁵⁶

We also know from the author that he was an eye-witness of the events which he records, and that he participated in some of the raids that he describes. In his remarks on the raid of the Muklīn he states:

The author, God forgive him, said: "A courageous and daring horseman related [this] to me on that day when we were on our way back to Granada."⁵⁷

It seems likely that this writer was one of many who moved to the Moroccan shore immediately after the fall of Granada, and that in Morocco he recorded information about the difficulties encountered by the Muslims in the last days of the kingdom of Granada as a warning for others. The presence of several manuscript copies of *Akhbār al-ʿaṣr* only in Morocco⁵⁸ is possible support for our theory. The heading of one copy is as follows: "*Akhbār al-ʿaṣr fī inqidāʾ dawlat Banī Naṣr, taʿlīf al-al-Shaykh al-imām al-ʿālim al-hammām, farīd miṣrihi wa waḥīd ʿaṣrihi Sayyidī Muḥammad al-Ghamrī al-Falākī*." Another copyist wrote the following note at the end of the book:

It is by al-Ghamrī the Shāfiʿī according to what is written on the first page of this blessed collection. This, however, is incorrect because the work which is by him is the one following this, unless both are by him. I do not know.⁵⁹

"The one following this" is *al-Muqtatafāt al-fikriyya ʿalā al-dāʾira al-tārīkhiyya*, a short work by al-Ghamrī. We expected, despite the reference to his being a Shāfiʿī, that there might be something to be read between the lines here. However, after some research, it became clear that the matter was simply a mistake committed by the copyist, for the writer was from the

⁵⁶ *Akhbār al-ʿaṣr*, 2.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 17.

⁵⁸ I have studied five copies of this work in the Khizāna ʿĀmma in Rabat and in some private libraries. ʿĪnān supposed that the author was one of those who remained in Granada and concealed his name as a matter of personal safety; however, this supposition is without foundation, as there is an indication in the text that the author was in the Maghreb.

⁵⁹ MS Rabat, al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma, 1177 kāf, f. 229.

East and lived a long time after the fall of Granada. This book, of which a number of editions have been printed, thus remains anonymous.⁶⁰

Loss, fragmentation and the identification of the authors of historical and geographical manuscripts are problems which affect not only the study of Andalusia, for well-known reasons, but also the Muslim West as a whole. This is proved by the fact that the extant sources allude to a large number of works written in the Maghreb on the history of countries, towns and eminent personalities, works that today are reckoned to be lost. Where is the lengthy work written by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Qayrawānī on the history of North Africa; where are the numerous books that he wrote about the kings of North Africa, their wars and their supporters? Where are his descriptive works on Tialet, Oran, Sijilmāsa, Nakūr, the Moroccan Baṣra, and other towns?⁶¹ And where are the books of al-Nawfalī, al-Zallījī, Ibn al-Waddūn, Abū al-Qāsim b. Jannūn and ʿAbd al-Malik al-Warrāq on the history of Fez?⁶² Where is Ibn Hādīyya's history of Tlemcen?⁶³ Where are Ibn Ḥammād's *al-Dibāja fī akhbār Ṣanhāja*, and *al-Nubadh al-muḥtāja fī akhbār Ṣanhāja bi-lfiriqiya wa-Bajā*?⁶⁴ What has become of the *Kitāb al-iftikhār fī manāqib fuqahāʾ al-Qayrawān* by Abū Bakr ʿAtīq b. Khalaf al-Tujībī?⁶⁵

All of these books, and others besides, are part of the lost historical heritage of the Islamic West. Those parts which have reached us often consist of manuscripts that are either incomplete, or fragmentary, or anonymous, or of disputed authorship. Of the first type are the histories of Ibn Qaṭṭān, Ibn Ṣāhib al-Ṣalāt, al-Rāqīq al-Qayrawānī and the *Manāhil al-ṣafāʾ* of al-Fashtālī,

⁶⁰ It was published for the first time by Müller (see no. 49 above), and subsequently by Shakib Arslan. The Arabic text, with a Spanish translation, was published in Larache in 1940. A new edition was published by Muḥammad Radwān al-Dāya in 1984. As far as I know, the most recent publication appeared in 1991.

⁶¹ See Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila*, VIII, 365.

⁶² All of these scholars wrote histories of Fez and are quoted in various sources.

⁶³ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāta fī akhbār Gharnāta*, 2nd ed., ed. M. ʿA. ʿĪnān, I (Cairo, 1393/1973), 83.

⁶⁴ See *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila*, VIII, 324 (where the text reads "Bijāya" rather than "Bajā").

⁶⁵ See the index of the published edition of *Mafākhir al-Barbar* (see no. 34 above).

which originally consisted of numerous volumes but of which only parts have come down to us.

Of the second type are various fascicles of historical works. A number of examples of such sections are to be found in the Qarawiyyīn and other libraries.

An example of the third type is *al-Khabar 'an al-dawla al-Sa'diyya*, since none of the manuscripts of this important historical work mention the name of the author. Indeed, it would appear that the author intentionally left out his name for fear of undesirable consequences because of the aspersions that the book casts on the Sa'dī dynasty. This author, who lived until the beginning of the 'Alawī dynasty, was not known to his contemporary, the historian al-Ifrānī, nor was he known to the historian al-Zayyānī, yet both of them knew the book and quoted from it.⁶⁶ Perhaps this indicates that the work had a wide circulation; after all, more than five handwritten copies of it have come down to us.

Another example of this third type of manuscript is *al-Dhakhira al-saniyya fi ta'rikh al-dawla al-Marīniyya*. The work remains anonymous as the author is not mentioned in the known sources, and the most that can be gleaned from the text is that it was written for the Merinid Sultan Abū Sa'īd I. Some scholars have noted similarities between this book and the *Rawd al-Qirtās*, and others are of the opinion that they are indeed by the same author, namely Ibn Abī Zar' according to those who hold that he was the author of the *Qirtās*.⁶⁷

The *Qirtās* provides us with an example of the fourth and final type of manuscript, namely works of disputed authorship. The reason for the disagreement in this case is that in some copies the work is attributed to Šāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Halīm and in others to Ibn Abī Zar', thus causing people, in both earlier times and more recently, to differ over the identity of the author. It has, however, become customary to attribute the book to Ibn Abī Zar', under whose name it has been published several times.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *Chronique anonyme de la dynastie sa'dienne [Ta'rikh al-dawla al-Sa'diyya]*, ed. G. S. Colin (Rabat, 1353/1934), pp. tā', thā'. The Royal Press at Rabat recently announced that a new edition of this book is in preparation.

⁶⁷ See the article by 'Abdallāh Kannūn in *Majallat Tetouan*, II, 145.

⁶⁸ See the introduction to the edition published by 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Maṣṣūr.

Another example of the fourth type is *Buyūtāt Fās al-kubrā*, which is attributed by some historians to Ismā'il b. al-Aḥmar, and by others to a student of the *faqīh* al-Qarawī. The attribution of the entire work to Ibn al-Aḥmar is rendered untenable, however, by the fact that it contains references to dates nearly a hundred years after his death. It thus seems that more than one person may have participated in the writing of this work.

This unfortunate situation, of which of which I have given examples, is not restricted to manuscripts of historical and geographical works alone but affects other disciplines. However, it does seem to occur more frequently in historical and geographical manuscripts. There are many reasons for this. Perhaps the first is that geographical and historical works were not among those that were commonly transmitted from their authors and recorded in contemporary lists and indexes which, as the equivalent of today's bibliographies, played an important role in the documentation of books.

A second reason, closely linked to the first, is that history and geography were not highly regarded in some scholarly circles. It was sometimes said of history that it was a discipline knowledge of which brought no benefit and ignorance of which caused no harm. This opinion prevailed throughout the period of decline and one of its consequences was that people gave up copying works of history. It was because of this that a number of enlightened scholars like al-Sakhāwī, amongst others, set out to defend this discipline and to refute those who attacked or disparaged it.

Another reason is that some of these anonymous manuscripts are merely abridgements of longer works by known authors; it may well be that the scholars engaged in abridgement felt that they had no right to claim authorship for themselves. Whatever the case may be, such abridgements of unknown provenance have helped to obscure the identity of the authors of the original works which they came to replace. Closely linked to this factor were the scruples of some pious writers, who preferred not to have such works ascribed to them.

Also important in this respect is the question of fear and dissimulation, which explains why a number of works of critical content have come down to us in an unattributed form. Two examples already mentioned above are the book about the last days of the Banū Naṣr and the book on the history of the Sa'dī

dynasty, the authors of which deliberately omitted to mention their names for reasons of prudence, since a number of scholars were tried for their historical writings. There are also a number of critical Andalusian poetical works whose authors are unknown for the same reason.⁶⁹

In addition to the causes already stated is the common problem of deterioration, particularly with regard to the title page or the colophon. When such problems occur in an original or unique copy it can be very difficult to discover the identity of the author.

I shall conclude this brief presentation by drawing attention to my own efforts in some instances of this type. The first relates to a manuscript in the Escorial, of which the first folio is missing. At the end of it we find the following:

[Thus] concludes the *Kitāb al-Tanbīh 'alā al-mughālata wa-l-tamwīh wa-iqāmat al-mumāl 'an tariq al-i'tidāl bi-l-burhān al-kāfi wa-l-bayān al-shāfi*.

In this work a certain Abū Hātim responds to commentaries on pre-Islamic poetry by a certain Abū Muṭarrif; thus the attribution of this book to Abū Muṭarrif Ahmad b. 'Amīra al-Makhzūmī is woefully inaccurate. I have dealt with the verification of the authorship of this work in my university dissertation on Abū al-Muṭarrif Ahmad b. al-'Amīra.⁷⁰

The second case with which I have been concerned is the status of the geographical work *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, whose author is, I believe, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi al-Hafid. I have set forth the details about this in my monograph on this writer.⁷¹

A third case concerns a Spanish commentary on the poetry of al-Mutanabbī. Only the second half is extant and no mention is made of the commentator's name. However, my research led me to the conclusion that the author is, once again, Ibn 'Abd

⁶⁹ For example, we might mention Ibn al-Abbār and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Malzūzī in this respect. On anonymous critical poems, see, for example, Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, II, 280 and IV, 251; also M. Bencherifa, *Al-Baṣṭī, ākhir shu'arā' al-Andalus* (Beirut, 1985), 176. There are also a number of poems by way of elegy for al-Andalus in al-Maqqarī's *Nafh al-rīb* which lack any attribution for the same reason.

⁷⁰ M. Bencherifa, *Abū al-Muṭarrif Ahmad b. 'Amīra: ḥayātuha wa-āthāruha* (Rabat, 1966), 269-84.

⁷¹ M. Bencherifa, *Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi al-Hafid*, 159-94.

Rabbihi al-Hafid. The story of this discovery is related in detail in the above-mentioned monograph.⁷²

A fourth such problem that I encountered was in a *dīwān* from Granada. On the edge (*turra*) of the sole extant copy is a note which says that the work is by Ibn al-Khaṭīb. However, a detailed reading of the text made it clear that it was the second half of a *dīwān* by Abu al-Husayn b. Farkūn, a previously unknown poet from Granada.⁷³

One of the latest cases in which I have been able, with God's help, to ascertain the correct authorship of a work was in being able to attribute an anonymous manuscript of *Mukhtaṣar al-Mustaṣfā*, in the Escorial, to Ibn Rushd al-Hafid. My student and friend, the late Jamal al-Dīn al-'Alawī, told me about the work and gave me a copy of it, asking for my opinion on its authorship; his own examination of the text had led him to believe it to be the work of Ibn Rushd, although he had discovered no textual evidence for this. He then passed away leaving the work at the press. Then, while reading the manuscript of *Rawḍat al-a'lām* by Ibn al-Azraq, I came across the following:

When the learned Ibn Rushd abridged al-Ghazālī's *Mustaṣfā* on the principles of jurisprudence, he left out the introduction on logic saying: "We shall leave everything until its proper place, for anyone who seeks to learn more than one thing at one time ends up not being able to learn even one of them."⁷⁴

When I came across this remark, I went back to my copy of the *Mustaṣfā* and found exactly the same words, confirming Ibn Rushd as the author of the abridgment. The proof-readers were then informed and this information was included in a footnote.

Thus it is that those working with manuscripts often come across works whose authors are not known and not mentioned anywhere, or works attributed to the wrong authors, or to authors who are scarcely known. To overcome such problems, one needs much patience, painstaking research, a great deal of time and unceasing diligence. Such are the qualities which lead, with God's help, to success.

⁷² *ibid.*, 110-39.

⁷³ *Dīwān Ibn Farkūn* (Maṭbū'at Akādimiyyat al-Mamlaka al-Maghribiyya, 1987), 5.

⁷⁴ Ibn Rushd, *Mukhtaṣar al-Mustaṣfā* (Dār al-Maghrib al-Islāmī, 1993), 21.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT BETWEEN TEXT AND READER

THE *IJĀZA* IN ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS

JAN JUST WITKAM

The *ijāza* is the certificate of reading or hearing which is sometimes written on manuscripts, usually near the colophon or on the title page. It confers upon the recipient the right to transmit a text, or to teach, or to issue legal opinions. It also bears witness to attendance at a reading session. The *ijāzat al-tadrīs*, the licence to teach, and the *ijāzat al-samā'*, the certificate of attendance at a reading session and hence the licence to transmit the text read, should not be confused. Our attention here will be focused on the *ijāzat al-samā'*, the protocols of reading sessions which were often added to a text, as these in particular provide us with ample information on the human element in the transmission of texts.

The *ijāza* is a conspicuous feature of Arabic manuscripts and it illustrates how a text functions in an educational, scientific or cultural environment. Studying *ijāzas* increases our knowledge of the human element in the use of texts and manuscripts. For a better understanding of the *ijāza* it is also important also to be aware of the individual and personal element in the transmission of Muslim scholarship: we, therefore, deal with this subject briefly in the following section. Finally, we suggest a proposal for collecting and analysing *ijāzat al-samā'* in Arabic manuscripts.¹

¹ There is no monograph devoted to the *ijāza*, nor is there a published corpus of texts. Some useful sources which provide a wealth of material on the subject are: 'Abd Allāh Fayyād, *al-Ijāzāt al-'ilmiyya 'inda al-muslimin* (Baghdad, 1967) (with emphasis on the Shī'a); P.A. MacKay, *Certificates of Transmission on a Manuscript of the Maqāmāt of Hariri*, MS. Cairo, Adab 105, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, LXI/4

Personal approach and continuity in Islamic scholarship

It has often been stated that in Islam there is no hierarchic structure comparable with the church-like organisation of the Christians. Strictly speaking, this is true. Islam does not have an infallible pope nor does it have a clergy with an intricately differentiated hierarchic structure who claim to occupy a position between God and the believer and dispense sacraments and pretend to possess the monopoly of doctrine. This does not, of course, mean that clerical organisation is totally lacking in Islam. It is only that the dynamics of continuity — since organisation produces continuity — in Islam have developed in a different way. In Islam no intermediary between God and man is necessary. And just as a Muslim's relationship with God is direct and personal, so too is a man's way of procuring religious knowledge. In Islam it is the personal relationship between teacher and pupil that, through the generations of scholars, has produced a powerful driving force that ensures a continuity of its own.

Several genres of Islamic literature have developed in the course of time, which reflect this individual and personal attitude. It started very early indeed, with the emergence of Islamic tradition, *ḥadīth*. As important as the content of the Tradition is the chain of authorities, the *isnād*, which precedes each tradition. The early collections are even organised not according to subject matter but to their authorities, and hence referred to by the name *Musnad*. Half of Islamic Tradition is *ʿilm al-rijāl*, the "knowledge of the transmitters". Only an authentic chain of trustworthy authorities validates the text of a *ḥadīth*. Without it a *ḥadīth* is suspended in space and is incomplete — at least that is the

(Philadelphia, 1971); Salāh al-Dīn al-Munajjid, "Ijāzāt al-samāʾ fī al-makhtūṭāt al-qadīma", *Majallat Maʿhad al-Makhtūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya* (MMMA), I (1375/1955), 232-51; J. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book* (Princeton, 1984), esp. 31-4; Qāsim Ahmad al-Sāmarrāʾī, "Al-ijāza wa-tatawwuruhā al-tārīkhī", *ʿĀlam al-Kutub*, II (1981), 278-85. Many illustrations of *ijāzāt* are found in A. J. Arberry, *A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library* (8 vols., Dublin, 1955-66). The use of the *ijāza* in the Islamic educational system has been treated by George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges. Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh, 1981), while Georges Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture et de transmission dans les manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Paris, 1956), gives an analysis of the contents of a great number of *ijāzāt* in 72 manuscripts. I also wish to thank Léon Buskens for putting at my disposal a number of published *ijāzāt* or *ijāza*-related texts from his private library.

opinion of the early Muslim scholars. For practical reasons these Tradition texts and chains of authorities were written down, but, according to the old ideals, religious knowledge was best disseminated orally. The *isnads* can thus be read as protocols of successive instances and sessions in which learning was transmitted. The written form of *ḥadīth* is thus but one dimension of the Tradition: the human factor in the transmission and continuity of knowledge is as important as the recorded message itself. The saying that "knowledge is in the breasts [of men], not in the lines [of books]" (*al-ʿilm fī al-ṣudūr lā fī al-suṭūr*) aptly summarises this idea.²

The rapid expansion of Islam and the enormous diversification of the different disciplines of learning made it impossible to maintain oral transmission as the only vehicle for passing on knowledge. The Word of God, the divine revelation, had to be written down, since the early carriers of the Holy Word died on the battlefields of the expansion wars. At a later stage, historical and Tradition texts were written down as well, initially in all sorts of personal notebooks³ of transmitters, later in more organised collections that were intended for a wider audience. Though, in the end, books became accepted as the ordinary medium, the individual and personal approach nevertheless remained intact. Just reading a book in order to grasp its contents, as we do nowadays, was not enough. In the classical period, it was thought, a book should be read with a teacher, preferably the author himself, or else it should be studied with an authoritative and respected professor. Reading, or rather studying, was not a solitary affair. It was also a social event, as we shall see.

Biographical literature emerged in Islam as one of the consequences of this individual and personal approach. The genre was not new around the Mediterranean. In classical antiquity biographical literature such as the "Parallel Lives" of Plutarch served historical, didactic, moralistic and sometimes ideological purposes. Some of the Islamic biographical literature had a similar purpose but there was an extra dimension. The "science of men", or *ʿilm al-rijāl*, developed into a critical method

² See Ibn al-Akfānī, *Irshād al-qāṣid ilā asnā al-maqāṣid*, ed. J. J. Witkam (Leiden, 1989), 446, no. 191.

³ For their use, and the distrust they evoked, see al-Balkhī (d. ca. 319/913), *Kitāb Qabūl al-akhbār wa-maʾrifat al-rijāl*, MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, Mustalah 14M, *passim*. An edition of this text by myself is in an advanced stage of preparation.

for the assessment of scholarly authority. Many biographical works were concerned with describing networks of scholarship and chains of transmission. A clear example of this is the *Tahdhib al-tahdhib* by Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), which is a biographical dictionary of trustworthy transmitters of Islamic Tradition.⁴ The usual structure of a biography in this work breaks down into three parts: firstly the full name and some other pertinent life data of the subject are given, then follow enumerations of earlier authorities from whom he transmits Tradition, and then of those later authorities who in turn transmit from him. The biographee is thereby presented in the centre of an activity of transmission of knowledge. This particular work by Ibn Hajar is exclusively concerned with traditionists and this particular approach can, therefore, be observed here very clearly. Other biographical works, even those that are not so exclusively concerned with traditionists, often contain similar bits of network information.

Literary genres of an individual and personal nature

Other individual and personal genres evolved. The *fahrasa*,⁵ which developed in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, is one of these. This genre, in which a scholar enumerates his shaykhs and the works he read with them, can be read as a scholarly curriculum vitae. The *thabat*, which is not confined to the Maghreb, is a list compiled by a relater of traditions in which he mentions his shaykhs and the scope of his transmissions on their authority. Likewise, in the *rihla*, or travel account, attention shifted from geography and ethnography in the classical period to the personal relationships of scholars. Especially in later times it became much more than just a travel account. In it, the itinerant author has ample opportunity to enumerate the scholars he has met, the lessons he has taken and the authorisations he has received during his travels. And the purpose of his travels was, of course, not touristic but of a much more edifying nature, namely the pilgrimage to Makka.⁶ Yet another type of personalised text is

the *silsla*, the spiritual or scholarly genealogy.⁷ The *barnāmaj*⁸ and the *mashyakha* have a function very similar to that of the *fahrasa*, and sometimes contain accounts of travels in search of knowledge, the *ṭalab al-ʿilm*, just as in the *rihla*. One of the most conspicuous types of compilation of biographical data are the works describing the *ṭabaqāt* ("the layers") of scholars, which list the successive generations of persons active in a certain field. This treatment "by generation" kept intact both the synchronic and diachronic connections in the history of a field of scholarship.

Especially in later times, such enumerations were compiled as a sort of scholarly autobiography. Sometimes the main attention is directed to the texts which were read with teachers, as in the *barnāmaj*, and sometimes the shaykhs themselves are the main object of attention, as in the *mashyakha*. Often these texts were compiled by the subjects themselves and were written in the first person, although the third person is used in the autobiography as well. When others took care of the compilation of such a list of subjects taught or authorities met by their shaykh, such a survey could simply be called *al-Taʿrīf bi-...*, followed by the name of the shaykh in question. The same applies to works which are entitled *Tarjamat ...*, followed by the name of the biographee. Titles such as *al-Sanad al-muttaṣil ilā ...*, followed by the name of an early authority, occur as well. Compilations with the word *asānīd* in the title serve a similar purpose in describing the chains of authorities by which a certain scholar is connected to the great imams of an earlier period. At a much later stage, probably only as late as the 12th/18th century, separate booklets with titles including the word *ijāza* began to appear. At first sight these seem to belong to the category of educational *ijāzāt* rather than that of readers' certificates but there are also connections between the two types of texts since the later diplomas frequently contain a *silsla* of learned predecessors, often putting the Prophet Muḥammad at the beginning of the *silsla* and the student to whom the booklet was issued at its end. Elaborately adorned, impressively calligraphed and elegantly worded, these diplomas can be considered to constitute the final stage of the *ijāza* and its

⁴ Published in 12 volumes in Hyderabad, 1325-7 [1907-9].

⁵ See Ch. Pellat, s.v. "Fahrasa", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed (E²), (Leiden and London, 1960-), II, 743-4.

⁶ This genre of travel accounts became specially developed in the Western part of the Islamic world. The great distance from the Arabian Peninsula must have contributed to this development.

⁷ Many *silslas* are known. The Sufis have their own sets of *silslas*. I have published and analysed the *silsla* of the Bosnian Hanafi scholar Hasan Kāfi al-Aḥisārī (d. 1025/1616) in *Manuscripts of the Middle East (MME)*, IV (1989), 85-114.

⁸ For this type of book, see 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ahwānī, "Kutub barāmiḡ al-'ulamā' fi al-Andalus", *MMMA*, I (1955), 91-120, 252-71.

finest artistic expression. Because of them, the *ijāza* has become an independent literary genre.⁹

Yet another special literary genre that developed from this practice is the *juz'*, a short text usually consisting of not much more than one quire, and often small enough for it to be easily carried. It could happen that only a very small part of a scholar's work was read and taught in a session in which an *ijāza* was going to be granted. In that case the issuer of the *ijāza* had the choice between two options. He could confer upon his pupil, or a visiting scholar, the right to transmit the whole of a book by him, or his transmissions (*marwīyyāt*), or his own orally received knowledge (*masmū'āt*), or the works for which he himself had already acquired certificates (*mustajāzāt*), or of any other of his works even if they had only been partially read or not read at all. Such *ijāzāt* *amma* abound.

The other option was that the short text or the specific collection of transmissions which had been read could be written out separately. Such shorter collections of part of the repertoire of a shaykh often bear the title *juz'*.¹⁰ Sometimes these *ajzā'* are provided with a more detailed specification and a more meaningful title.¹¹

⁹ Such booklets are available in numerous libraries. The MS Montreal, McGill University Library, No. AC 156 is such a separate diploma. Its content was analysed and published by Adam Gacek, "The Diploma of the Egyptian Calligrapher Hasan al-Rushdī", *MME*, IV (1989), 44–55. Another one is MS Leiden, University Library, Or. 11.121. This thin volume, which probably originates from Istanbul, contains an *ijāza* in the readings of the Qur'ān conferred upon Abū Bakr Lutfi Afandī b. al-Sayyid 'Umar al-Sanūbī by his teacher Ismā'il Haqqī b. 'Alī in Muḥarram 1260/1844.

¹⁰ It is not impossible that the *juz'* as an independent genre developed from the old practice of writing *ijāzāt*, *samā'āt* and the like on each *juz'*, here more or less meaning quire, or gathering, of a manuscript. Such manuscripts are referred to as *mujazza'*, divided into *ajzā'*. This feature is by no means rare. It can be attested by the Leiden manuscripts Or. 122 (*Makārim al-Akhlaq*) and Or. 12.644 (*Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*). These manuscripts contain on each gathering a number of almost identical certificates. The gatherings have title pages of their own and break up the text into parts of more or less equal length which have no connection with any division into chapters and sections that the text may also have. This latter characteristic is shared, of course, with the Qur'ān, which has a formal division into *ajzā'* and, at the same time, a division into chapters, or *sūras*.

¹¹ *Ajzā'* with *samā'āt* are mentioned by Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Munajjid, "Ijāzāt al-samā'", nos. 10 and 11.

When a scholar's trust in his colleague or student was great, it could happen that he conferred upon him the right to transmit all his works, even if they had not been the subject of a teaching session. In such a case the *ijāza* may contain the titles of most or all of the teacher's works and be, in effect, an autobibliography. Such lists of titles of books in the *ijāza*, or elsewhere in a manuscript for that matter, are hardly explored as yet.¹² There are many more works, often with more flowery titles, which serve the same purpose, namely to record and assess a scholar's authority. When one starts searching for this type of book the supply is seemingly endless. The common features that may be observed in all of them are the enumerations of scholars visited, of books read, and of authorisations (*ijāzāt*) received. In this context the *ijāza* is the conclusion of a meeting between two scholars which simultaneously contains an account of their scholarly antecedents. By virtue of it, the recipient is invested with the authority to transmit or teach part or whole of the work of the scholar who has issued the *ijāza*. The whole process is not unlike the diplomas which students of present day universities consider as the culmination of their study, the difference being that these *ijāzāt* reflect the relationship between two natural persons, rather than between a student and his institution of education.

Finally, we may note that the alphabetical arrangement of biographical material, such as in Ibn Hajar's *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, encompassed all previous developments. This type of arrangement was, of course, the only organisational answer to an ever increasing corpus of material, although we do also find limitations of a chronological or geographical nature within alphabetically arranged biographical dictionaries.

¹² See my "Lists of Books in Arabic Manuscripts", *MME*, V (1990-1), 121–36, especially the section on 'Ijāzāt and autobibliography' on pp. 126–30 where I discuss an 8/14th century document of such a nature. Another autobibliography which takes the shape of an *ijāza*, dated Damascus, 1169/1756, is found in MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, no. 3488 (cf. Arberry, *Handlist*, II, plate 63).

Codicology and the *ijāza* in Arabic manuscripts

What, one might ask, has all this to do with manuscripts and, more particularly, with codicology? The latter science is sometimes described as the specialism that devotes attention to all aspects of a manuscript other than the contents of the text it contains. In more positive wording, it is sometimes designated as the science that focusses exclusively on the physical features of the handwritten book. These are useful definitions but as summarised here they are too simplified. Indeed, there are often more things to be learned from a manuscript volume than the philological aspects of the text which is contained in it. One cannot, however, make such a simple schematic distinction between immaterial text and physical manuscript, between soul and body, so to speak. There is always an interaction between the two aspects, as is illustrated by, for example, the occurrence of a great variety of indications of personal use that can be found in many manuscripts. Each manuscript is, of course, a personally made artefact and contains information — always implicitly and sometimes explicitly — on the maker and sometimes on the users of the manuscript as well. On the whole, features such as the colophon, copyist's verses, owner's marks and reader's certificates enable us to gain an idea of the functioning of a certain text in general and the use of a certain manuscript volume in particular. Therefore, the study of these features, which belongs to the field of codicology in as much as the study of writing materials and script are part of it, gives a text an extra dimension and places it in its cultural context. Only this overall and integrated approach to the manuscript does justice to its features in coherence with one another. It is philology in the widest sense of the word, involving all these aspects and also the interaction between the text and the environment in which it was launched.

One usually finds *ijāzāt*, or copies of them,¹³ added at the end of a text or written on the title page preceding the text for which the authorisation is granted. Sometimes the *ijāza* consists of a few lines only but sometimes they can be quite elaborate. They may be combined with readers' certificates. To add *ijāzāt* to texts was a time honoured practice in Arabic manuscripts which remained in use for a number of centuries. By looking at the manuscripts in which they are written, one can gain an idea of how this system of authorisation to teach operated. In addition to this, an *ijāza* can

¹³ Copies (*mithāl* or *ṣūra*) are often not recognised as such.

reveal much about the way a certain text or manuscript was used. Quite surprisingly, as yet very little has been done by way of a systematic collection of the data contained in the *ijāzāt* in Arabic manuscripts.¹⁴ A corpus of such texts with an analysis of both their formulaic peculiarities and their content would be highly desirable. The fact that such a corpus would indeed be useful is illustrated by the discovery by Ebied and Young of the etymology of the term "baccalaureate": by scrutinising the Arabic wording of the *ijāzāt* in a number of manuscripts they found evidence for their thesis that the well known European academic term is in fact derived from the Arabic term *bi-haqq al-riwāya*.¹⁵

Examples of some important *ijāzāt*

The *ijāza* originated within the Islamic educational system in which the Islamic religious sciences were taught. Its use, however, has by no means remained restricted to that field. Of the 72 manuscripts listed by Vajda, 59 have a "traditional Islamic" content, that is disciplines that are part of the *madrasa* curriculum, whereas 13 do not have a directly religious content but deal with such topics as medicine, literature and the sciences. This is still a high proportion in view of the fact that there are so many more manuscripts of the first category. Vajda's geographical register reveals that Damascus and Cairo are the places from where most manuscripts with *ijāzāt* on them originate. Baghdad, Makka and Aleppo are the runners up as places where *ijāzāt* were most frequently issued. Most other places are also situated in the Mashreq. Eighty percent of Vajda's corpus dates from the 6–9th/12–15th centuries, with a more or less even distribution over this period.¹⁶

One of the most outstanding sets of *ijāzāt* is found not in an Islamic scholarly text, but in what is probably the most prestigious text of Arabic imaginative literature, the *Maqāmāt* of

¹⁴ MacKay's extensive analysis of the *ijāzāt* in MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, *Adab* 105 (see n. 1 above), which contains a contemporary copy of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hariri (d. 512/1122), makes ample reference to secondary manuscripts and is exemplary both in this respect and from the methodological point of view. Vajda's collection of certificates (see n. 1 above) also provides a wealth of information.

¹⁵ R. Y. Ebied & M. J. L. Young, "New Light on the Origin of the Term 'Baccalaureate'", *The Islamic Quarterly*, XVIII (1974), 3–7.

¹⁶ See Vajda, *Certificats de lecture*, 65–6.

al-Harīrī. This becomes clear from the *ijāzāt* found on the authoritative manuscript of the text, copied from al-Harīrī's own copy. In the principal and contemporaneous *ijāza* on this manuscript the names of some 38 scholars, a number of whom are identified as distinguished notables of Baghdad, are mentioned as having been present at the reading of the entire work, which took more than a month of intermittent sessions to complete.¹⁷ MacKay's meticulous analysis of the numerous *ijāzāt* in this manuscript has, in fact, reconstructed a period of almost two centuries of cultural life in Baghdad, Aleppo and Damascus. It all started in Baghdad in the year 504/1111, when the first reading of a copy of the author's autograph took place. That reading was followed by a number of subsequent readings, all in Baghdad. In the 60 or so years since the first reading, the manuscript had become quite heavy with *samā'* notes. After a period of 40 years, which remains unaccounted for, it came into the possession of the Aleppan historian Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm (d. 660/1262). The manuscript then remained for more than 30 years in Aleppo, and bears numerous names of members of the best Aleppan families as auditors at sessions at which the manuscript was read. Finally, the manuscript bears certificates of reading sessions held in Damascus in the course of the year 683/1284. The manuscript then fades from view until, almost exactly six centuries later, it was acquired in 1875 by Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, where it still is.

When one looks at the more than 200 names of those involved in reading and listening to the manuscript, one is struck by the fact that many of them are related by family ties. The history of the transmission of the text in this manuscript often goes hand in hand with the history of generations of scholars and literary men who occupied themselves with it.

One of the earliest known *ijāzāt* is that found in the unique manuscript of *al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh fī al-Qur'ān* by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 223/837).¹⁸ Here we do indeed

have a work which belongs to the core of Islamic sciences, the knowledge of the abrogating and abrogated verses of the Qur'an. The earliest *samā'* in it dates from 392/1001-2, while the latest dates from 587/1191. In one of *samā'āt* in this manuscript a place is mentioned: al-Jāmi' al-'Atiq bi-Miṣr.¹⁹ Here, too, several members of the same family are mentioned, including a father, his sons, and several brothers. Just as in the previously mentioned example of al-Harīrī's *Maqāmāt*, it becomes clear that transmitting a text was a social event and sometimes also a family affair. In either case the personal element is clearly present. Comparison of the *ijāzāt* at the end of the Istanbul manuscript of Abū 'Ubayd's *al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh* with the list of *riwāyāt* on the title page of another Istanbul manuscript, the *Kitāb al-Mujālasa* by Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī,²⁰ reveals the occurrence of the same person in both manuscripts, namely, the otherwise unknown scholar Abū 'Abd Allāh M. b. Hamd b. Hāmid b. Mufarraj b. Ghiyāth al-Artājī. In the very old manuscript of Abū 'Ubayd's *al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh*, he is active as *musmi'* in 587/1191, while in the copy of al-Dīnawarī's *Kitāb al-Mujālasa*, copied in 671/1272, he is one of the transmitters of the text preceding the manufacture of the manuscript. This shows that it is rewarding to accumulate the data of *ijāzāt*, *samā'āt*, *riwāyāt* and the like, with the present example, for instance, revealing the beginning of a scholarly network.

The *ijāzāt* given by Ibn al-Jawālīqī (d. 539/1144), one of the foremost philologists in Baghdad,²¹ can be found in a number of manuscripts. A manuscript in Dublin contains on its title page a certificate of reading signed by Ibn al-Jawālīqī in 514/1120.²² A

of the Topkapı manuscript on pp. 101-3 of his edition, with an analysis of their contents and an identification of most persons mentioned in them on pp. 52-3 of his introduction.

¹⁹ This must be the manuscript to which Salāh al-Dīn al-Munajjid refers ("Ijāzāt al-samā'", 233, n. 1). The date which he gives there, 372 AH, is apparently a misreading for the clearly written date of 392 AH.

²⁰ MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Ahmet III, No. 618. Facsimile edition by Fuat Sezgin, Publications of the Institute of the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, Series C, XXXVIII (Frankfurt am Main, 1986).

²¹ See C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, I (Weimar, 1898), 280.

²² Chester Beatty Library, No. 3009 (Arberry, *Handlist*, I, plate 1). See also S. A. Bonebakker, "Notes on Some Old Manuscripts of the *Adab al-kātib* of Ibn Qutayba, the *Kitāb as-sinā'atayn* of Abū Hilāl al-'Askari and the *Mathal as-sā'ir* of Diyā' ad-Dīn ibn al-Athīr", *Oriens*, XIII-XIV (1960-)

¹⁷ See MacKay, *Certificates of Transmission*, 9.

¹⁸ MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Ahmet III A 143. The *ijāza* itself appears to be a copy (*mithāl*). A facsimile edition of the manuscript was published by Fuat Sezgin, Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, Series C, XII (Frankfurt am Main, 1985). Pp. 418-9 of the facsimile edition contain the *ijāzāt*. The text was edited by John Burton, *Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām's K. al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh* (MS. Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmet III A 143), E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series, XXX (Cambridge, 1987). Burton gives the readers' certificates

Leiden manuscript containing Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī's *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* was copied by Ibn al-Jawālīqī before 496/1102-3.²³ His handwriting is easily identified and the date can be established from an autograph note by his teacher and predecessor at the Nizāmiyya school in Baghdad, al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī (d. 502/1108).²⁴ Other reading notes in the same manuscript reveal the reading by a pupil, Ibn al-Khashshāb, in the course of the year 519/1125. The manuscript then travelled from Baghdad to Cairo, as is borne out by notes about its new owner, the grammarian Ibn al-Nahhās (d. 698/1299).²⁵ Another Leiden manuscript containing the philological work *Kitāb al-ʿAlfāz* by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Isā al-Hamadhānī (d. 320/932), was copied in 522/1128.²⁶ It, too, contains an autograph *qirā'a* note by Ibn al-Jawālīqī on the title page. The manuscript itself contains notes of *bulūgh* and *muqābala* at fairly regular intervals and from these the length of the reading sessions can be approximately measured, each probably lasting around one or two hours. A late copy (11th/17th century?) of a *qirā'a* note by Ibn al-Jawālīqī, dated *Ṣafar* 501/1107, is available in MS Leiden Or. 403, f. 430b, which contains the *Dīwān* of Abū Tammām with a commentary by al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī.²⁷ The impression one gets from Ibn al-Jawālīqī's notes is that his transmissions were probably not as much of a social event as were the previous cases. It would appear that he had a predilection for a smaller group to whom he taught the important texts of his time. His copy of al-Ma'arrī's *Luzūmiyyāt*, with only his teacher al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī between the author and himself, is an eloquent witness of this.

Conclusions and perspectives

Two aspects of the *ijāza* have been dealt with, one from the point of view of cultural history, the other with codicological considerations taken into account. Both are necessary and the two complement one another by interaction. The *ijāza* itself is a good example for proving that these two orientations cannot be isolated from one another. The *ijāza* is an important source for the history of scholarly and cultural networks and gives the details by which an entire cultural environment can be reconstructed.

The *ijāza* as a mechanism in the distribution of learning deserves to be studied on a much wider scale than has hitherto been the case. Librarians should collect the *ijāzāt* in their manuscripts and publish them. Such publications should not only consist of an analysis of the data of the certificates, as Vajda and MacKay have done, but should also contain as complete a transcript as possible of the Arabic texts themselves. Only then can the most important work begin, namely, the compilation of a cumulative index of all the bio-bibliographical information contained in such certificates, which would be a valuable addition to existing bio-bibliographical reference works. The publication of a large corpus of *ijāzāt* will enable us to make a survey of the technical terminology employed which, in turn, will deepen our knowledge of the function of the *ijāza* in Arabic manuscripts.

The minimal requirements for such a corpus are, firstly, the full texts, with good photographs, of a great number of *ijāzāt*. These would constitute the main body of the work. Secondly, such a corpus should also contain a number of research aids: summary descriptions of the manuscripts in question, an index of persons with their functions in the process of the issuing of the *ijāzāt*, an index of the places to where the manuscripts in which the *ijāzāt* are found peregrinated in the course of time, and a glossary of the technical terminology employed.

This is not an easy task to perform, since the scholarly certificates are often written in the least legible of scripts. The study of the *ijāza* will only be fruitful if the student of the *ijāzāt* is well acquainted with the formal requirements of these certificates²⁸ and the educational environment from which they stem, and if at the same time he has a wide experience in working with manuscripts. In the ongoing development towards an increased

1), 159-94. The note in the Dublin manuscript is edited by Bonebakker on p. 165.

²³ University Library, Or. 100. See also S. M. Stern, "Some Noteworthy Manuscripts of the Poems of Abū'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī", *Oriens*, VII (1954), 322-47, especially 339-44.

²⁴ The *qirā'a* note was published by me in *Seven Specimens of Arabic Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1978), 11.

²⁵ See Stern, "Some Noteworthy Manuscripts", 343-4.

²⁶ MS Leiden Or. 1070 (P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands* [Leiden, 1957], 10).

²⁷ Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, 62.

²⁸ As sketched by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, "Ijāzāt al-samā", 234-41.

professionalisation of the science of manuscripts, it is only natural that such a corpus of *ijāzāt* should be compiled by a professional codicologist.

MĀLIKĪ FORMULARIES AND LEGAL DOCUMENTS: CHANGES IN THE MANUSCRIPT CULTURE OF THE 'UDŪL (PROFESSIONAL WITNESSES) IN MOROCCO

LÉON BUSKENS

The underlying theme of this short introductory paper¹ is the relationship between codicology on the one hand and the study of culture and society on the other: the physical appearance of books and documents is an important source of knowledge about culture and society, while the study of culture and society is an important help in understanding book-culture.

With this general proposition in mind, my aim is to analyse changes in the book-culture of the 'udūl, professional witnesses or notaries, in Morocco, from the medieval period (understood in a broad sense) to the present day, focusing on three types of material: formularies, registers, and legal documents.

Some general remarks on written proof and notaries in Islamic law

Although official legal doctrine did not permit the use of written documents as a means of proof of legal rights and obligations, written documents played an important role in the practice of Islamic law from an early period onwards. The use of documents led to the emergence of professional qualified witnesses, *shuhūd* or 'udūl, and the science of legal deeds, 'ilm al-shurūt or 'ilm al-wathā'iq.²

¹ Severe restrictions of time have not allowed me to develop this paper beyond the broad outlines presented herein. A fuller version of my findings is, however, planned for the near future.

² Further information is to be found in: Emile Tyan, *Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman*

Especially in Islamic Spain and in the Maghreb, scholarship on the art of drawing up legal deeds flourished. While in other parts of the Islamic world this scholarship and the activities of Muslim notaries vanished in the course of time, in Morocco this venerable tradition is still very much alive today. The widespread use of legal deeds makes these documents a valuable historical source, as has been shown by the studies of Muḥammad al-Manūnī³ and others.

'UDŪL AND WATHĀ'IQ IN MEDIEVAL MOROCCO (UNTIL 1912)

Legal status

In theory law was to be found in the scholarly law-books, the works of Mālikī *fiqh*. Use of written means of proof was accepted by Moroccan legal scholars, as is shown by their discussion of the use of documents. Even prominent and pious scholars contributed to the use of written documents by writing learned treatises about them and by acting as notaries themselves. The nexus between the judges and the 'udūl was also shown by the physical nearness of the notary offices to the courts.

The importance of legal documents in daily life is also shown by the products of Jewish notaries, *sofrim*, which resemble Islamic deeds in physical appearance.

Formularies

The medieval, pre-colonial period is characterised by an enormous diversity in the manuals used by 'udūl to serve as a model for their documents. This diversity existed in time as well

as in space. Each period and each region had its own formularies, adapted to specific local circumstances and needs. Some of these formularies were written by well-known and respected scholars, such as al-Wansharīsi.

The temporal diversity can be illustrated by the fact that the title *al-Wathā'iq al-fāsiyya*, a manual for the 'udūl in Fez, refers to at least three different, successively composed formularies.⁴ The regional diversity shows itself through the existence of formularies named after a certain town or region, such as Taroudannt or the Sūs. A curious example of such regional diversity is the existence of a special glossary of Arabic and Berber meant for use by the 'udūl of the Berber-speaking Sūs region of southern Morocco.⁵

Through the use of documents adapted to local circumstances, customary practices could be incorporated into Mālikī *fiqh* as developed by Moroccan scholars. Further research in this domain, such as for instance by connecting the study of *fatwā*-collections and handbooks on *amal* with formularies from the same period and region, might be fruitful. The case of the *shahādat al-lafīf*, or collective testimony, would serve as an example of the incorporation of customary practice into Moroccan Mālikī *fiqh* by way of legal documents.⁶

Before the introduction of lithographic printing in the 1860s all formularies in use were handwritten. After this date some important manuals were published in lithograph form. In recent years the study of the development of the 'ilm al-wathā'iq literature in Morocco has been given an important stimulus by the activities of Mostapha Naji of the Maktabat Dār al-Turāth in Rabat who has edited and/or published several medieval formularies.⁷

⁴ See Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Bannānī, *al-Wathā'iq al-fāsiyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm Masrūr (Rabat, 1988).

⁵ See Jacques Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^e s.), *Revue africaine*, 94 (1950), 357–398.

⁶ See Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-'Arabi b. Abī al-Mahāsīn Yūsuf al-Fāsī al-Fihri, *Shahādat al-lafīf* (Rabat, 1988).

⁷ e.g. al-Qādī Abī Ishāq al-Gharnāṭī, *al-Wathā'iq al-mukhtaṣara*, ed. Mostapha Naji (Rabat, 1988); Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Masmūdī, *al-Wathā'iq al-Sijilmāsiyya*, ed. Mostapha Naji (Rabat, 1988); also the works mentioned in nos. 3 and 4 above.

(Beirut, 1945); Emile Tyan, "'adl", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second ed. I (1960), 209–210; J. Lapanne-Joinville, "Les actes adoulares marocains sont-ils authentiques?", *Revue marocaine de droit*, 9 (1957), 337–384; Wilhelm Hoernerbach, *Spanisch-islamische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Nasriden und Moriscos* (Bonn, 1965); Jeanette A. Wakin, *The Function of Documents in Islamic Law. The Chapters on Sales from Tahāwī's Kitāb al-shurūṭ al-kabīr* (Albany, 1972); Wael B. Hallaq, "Model *Shurūṭ* Works and the Dialectic of Doctrine and Practice", *Islamic Law and Society*, 2 (1995), 109–134.

³ e.g. Muḥammad al-Manūnī, *Wathā'iq wa-nuṣuṣ 'an Abī al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Manūn wa-dhurriyyatihi* (Rabat, 1396/1976).

Registers

In principle documents were only drawn up as an original. No copies or registers were kept, or at least this was not obligatory. Some 'udūl preserved their notes for private use, as is shown by the survival of such private notebooks.

Documents

A variety of materials were in use, such as parchment, paper and wood. The general layout of the documents seems to have been fixed from an early age onwards: broad margins on the right-hand side of the document and no margins on the left, so as to avoid the insertion of text afterwards. These documents do not yet show any signs of standardisation through the use of special paper and/or references to registers. An important aspect is the *khiṭāb*, or homologation, which shows that the document has been accepted by the judge as a means to establish legal proof.

THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE (1912-1956)

Legal status

One of the first important developments in the legal domain after the establishment of the French protectorate in 1912 was the codification of important parts of Moroccan law according to the French model. This resulted in a dual system in which French and Moroccan, Islamic law existed alongside each other. At the same time it meant the beginning of the incorporation of the Islamic institution of professional witnesses into a newly created system of French-style state law. This is clearly shown in the codification of the law of contracts of 1913 in the *Dahir formant code des Obligations et Contrats*. Article 418 of this code accepts documents drawn up by 'udūl according to the classical procedure of homologation by the judge as a means of establishing legal proof. In 1925 the French institution of the *notaire public* was officially established alongside the Islamic 'adl.

The gradual incorporation of the 'udūl into the new state law required important changes in the legal status of the 'udūl as well as in their material culture. State supervision and regulation of the institution increased, this being partly connected to the fact that the activities of the 'udūl in transactions involving real estate were used to levy taxes. In the course of time the appointment of the 'udūl became the responsibility of the Department of Justice instead of the local judge.

Formularies

The French did not directly interfere with the diversity of formularies in use at the time. However, the new regulations concerning the use of stamped paper and other changes in the physical appearance of documents were spread by the Department of Justice in the form of printed circulars. The 'udūl were also made acquainted with print-culture and its new, "rationalised" layout through the first formularies printed by movable type in Morocco. Print-culture was further stimulated by the introduction of legal journals, which published legal texts in Arabic as well as in French translation in an entirely new layout.⁸

Registers

A series of regulations introduced by the French made it compulsory to the use of registers of deeds drawn up by 'udūl. The form of these registers became standardised, consisting of copybooks with pre-printed columns in which all kinds of information had to be filled in. The introduction of these uniform procedures and registers enabled the central government to get a firmer grip on the daily life of its subjects and on local legal practice.

⁸ See Léon Buskens, "Islamic Commentaries and French Codes. The Confrontation and Accommodation of Two Forms of Textualization of Family Law in Morocco", in Henk Driessen (ed.) *The Politics of Ethnographic Reading and Writing. Confrontations of Western and Indigeneous Views* (Saarbrücken & Fort Lauderdale, 1993), 65-100.

Documents

The new regulations, aimed at centralised control, show themselves clearly in the physical appearance of the legal documents produced by the 'udūl. The use of stamped paper becomes obligatory. In the margins of the documents references to registration in registers, indicated by the use of numbers, appear. In some cases stamps referring to the additional registration of the transfer of real estate are visible, and judges use stamps of their signature on a larger scale.

AFTER INDEPENDENCE (FROM 1956 ONWARDS)

Legal status

After independence the French legal reforms are in general retained. The dual system of French and Islamic law is gradually transformed into a unified system which is strongly influenced by French law. There are only two fields in which Islamic law is transformed into a legal code: family law and the rules concerning evidence.

In the 1958 codification of Mālikī family law, the *Mudawwanat al-aḥwāl al-shakṣiyya*, the 'adl was assigned a vital role in the field of marriage, repudiation, filiation and inheritance. This role was further strengthened in the 1993 reforms of the *Mudawwana*.

In the field of evidence the general dispositions of the protectorate were taken over and developed: Muslim and French notaries now exist alongside each other. However, the competence of the 'udūl in the transmission of real estate was enlarged. The tendencies of uniformisation, standardisation, and of state control, were also strengthened. The present rules, laid down in a law of 1982 and a decree of the prime minister of 1983, guarantee a large degree of control of the 'udūl by setting specific rules for their selection, education, and appointment, as well as for the constant supervision of their activities, and also for the use of registers.⁹

⁹ "De 'udūl en hun rol in het Marokkaanse huwelijks- en echtscheidingsrecht", in S.W.E. Rutten (ed.), *Recht van de Islam 9. Teksten van het op 7 juni 1991 te Leiden gehouden 9e RIMO-symposium* (Maastricht, 1992), 9–37.

Formularies

As a follow up to the codification of Islamic family law in the *Mudawwana*, an official formulary for documents connected with the law of personal status was composed by al-'Irāqī in 1961. Its explicit aim is to offer a clear-cut standard to the 'udūl in the drawing-up of legal documents and to impose a uniformity to local practice in accordance with the recently codified national law. The book, which was officially approved by the Minister of Justice, has been continually in print, as far as I know, since 1961. In the course of time only the design of the cover has been adapted to modern taste.¹⁰

Registers

The obligation to use registers was confirmed and extended by the new rules of 1982 and 1983. Nowadays a personal register as well as copybook kept at the court are in use. The most recent reforms in the rules concerning the 'udūl have further elaborated the prescriptions concerning the keeping of registers. According to some practitioners this has led to an unnecessary complication of procedure, as well as to the taking away of the jobs of some scribes who formerly assisted the 'udūl by copying the texts of the deeds by hand. In November 1993, resistance to these reforms grew so violent that the 'udūl in the traditional town of Meknes went on strike for a day.

Documents

The new regulations as well as the wider spread of Western-style print-culture show themselves in the documents produced by the 'udūl. Gradually printed forms have come into use. These are headed by texts such as "The Kingdom of Morocco" and the name of the place of the court in which the 'udūl are working. In the right-hand margin rubrics for the filling in of references to the registers are printed.

¹⁰ See Hammād al-'Irāqī, *al-Waṭṭā'iq al-'adliyya wifqa mudawwanat al-aḥwāl al-shakṣiyya* (Rabat?, 1961).

Some *'udūl* have gradually given up the use of their typical handwriting and shifted to the use of a typewriter instead. Similarly, many judges now no longer write the homologation formula by hand but use a rubber stamp instead.

CONCLUSION

Study of the physical appearance of the formularies, registers and legal documents used and produced by the *'udūl* show an increasing uniformisation and standardisation of their activities and procedures. In the formularies these tendencies become manifest in the transition from manuscript via lithographed to printed books. The introduction of the obligatory use of registers, which have become more and more uniform in layout in the course of time, offers an example of standardisation. The physical appearance of legal documents has also drastically changed during this century. The introduction of stamps, stamped paper, coded references to registers, and in recent times even printed forms, are also indications of the afore-mentioned tendencies.

To understand these changes in the material culture of the *'udūl*, we have to consider their written products in the context of larger political processes, notably the formation of a modern nation state in Morocco. Uniformisation and standardisation of their activities is closely connected with a stronger control of the legal system by the central government. Part of the process of state formation is the emerging need of, as well as the possibility for, the central government to control the daily life of its subjects. The legal system, especially the domain of establishing proof of rights and obligations, is an important means to exercise this state control of private life. In the course of the 20th century the Islamic institution of qualified professional witnesses has been incorporated into the newly created system of state law, which has been fundamentally influenced by French law. The introduction of movable type printing and Western-style layout in the domain of legal writing is intimately connected with the rise of the modern, centrally controlled nation state.

By discussing this particular case I have tried to substantiate my initial proposition that the study of the physical aspects of books and documents is an important source for social history, as well as the idea that codicology can profit from paying attention

to the context in which the objects under study were produced and used. The study of books and manuscripts leads us inevitably to the study of the men and women who wrote, read and used those books and manuscripts.

